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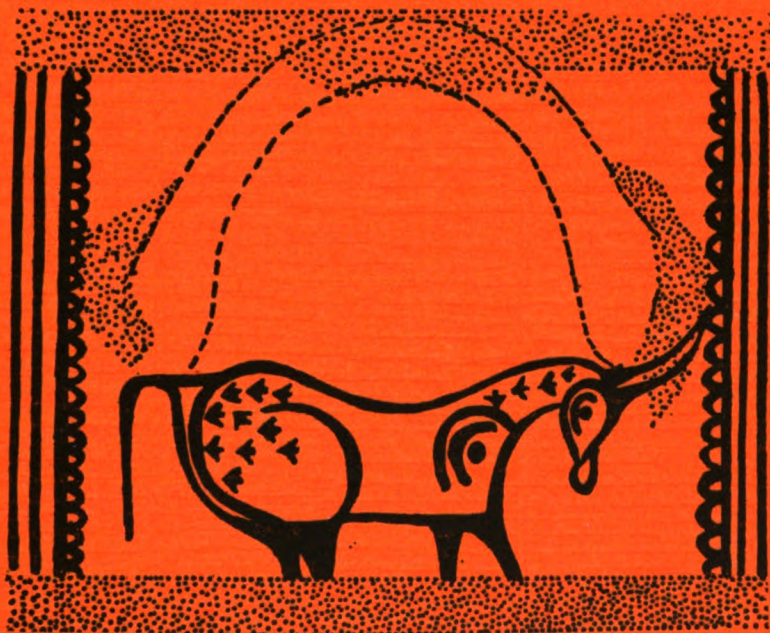
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Notes on some Cypro-Mycenaean Vases in the Medelhavsmuseet

VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS

Through the generosity of the Director of the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm¹, the present writer was able to re-examine some of the Mycenaean vases from Cyprus which are kept in this Museum in spring 1970. No major "discoveries" were made, as in 1957, when an impressive number of Mycenaean vases mainly of the pictorial style were studied and subsequently published², but a few supplementary observations on two Mycenaean vases from the Swedish excavations at Enkomi may not seem superfluous. Both vases come from the extraordinarily rich side-chamber of Enkomi Tomb 18³, and have been made up from fragments. (1) *Enkomi Tomb 18 S.46 (Figs. 1-2)*: Sjöqvist⁴ describes the decoration of this vase as follows: "A frieze of running bulls between the handles. The bodies of the bulls are decorated with small stars; the shoulders and hind quarters are dotted; from three of the bulls hang wavy ribbons from the horns. Lattice lozenges, chev-

rons and small spirals serve as filling ornament". The figured representation is rendered by a drawing⁵ which also shows an obliquely lying human figure in front and below the head of one of the bulls. The long legs of the human figure lie below one of the handles of the vase. The head of the human figure is not represented in the drawing published by Sjöqvist, except three small lines joining at right angles but not connected with the body. The human figure in fact is not headless, and a careful examination of the original will show that the three lines joining at right angles form part of the outline of the head which is of the usual rectangular type as seen on a large number of vases of the Mycenaean pictorial style.⁶ It is not clear if he is wearing a conical helmet like some other toreadors on Mycenaean vases. The paint is almost completely obliterated, but its traces are clearly seen, and Mrs. Sjöblom's new detail drawing is a faithful copy of the original. The head looks to the right to the same direction as the bulls. This of course is not a naturalistic posture, if we interpret our composition as a scene from the bull-ring. But as we wrote elsewhere, the 13th century vase-painter of bull-ring scenes is no longer inspired from the actual bull-ring or from the major art of fresco

¹ I am grateful to Dr. O. Vessberg who facilitated in every way my study in the Medelhavsmuseet, to Miss Gisela Walberg for her valuable assistance during my stay in the Museum, and Mrs. Margareta Sjöblom for the preparation of drawings and photographs of the vases which are described here.

² See V. Karageorghis, "Supplementary Notes on the Mycenaean Vases from the Swedish Tombs at Enkomi." *Op. Ath.* III (1960) 135ff.

³ See *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, 547ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 556.

⁵ Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, fig. 21, 2.

⁶ Cf. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification*, fig. 25, c, i, l, m.

painting but represents a scene he has heard about but which he probably never actually saw⁷. A toreador in front of the bull should face the animal, ready to grasp its horns for the jump.

There is one more bull-ring scene on a bell crater from Cyprus, in the G. G. Pierides Collection, where the toreador is in an oblique position behind the bull, obviously represented just after he has heapt to the ground.⁸

Our vase belongs chronologically to the ripe period of Cypro-Mycenaean pictorial style. The main characteristics of this style are: (a) the abandonment of rich floral ornaments against the background of the pictorial composition (here only lozenges are scattered in the field), (b) the elaborate decoration of the outlined bodies of animals (mainly of bulls) with small motifs recalling tapestry and weaving, (c) a renewed interest in the human figure as part of pictorial compositions. This style may be dated to the first half of the 13th century.

Bull-ring scenes appear also on two fragments of Mycenaean vases from the Greek Mainland.⁹ The toreadors on both these fragments wear conical helmets, like the one on the Pierides vase from Cyprus; it is, however, unlikely that the conical helmet formed part of a toreador's attire¹⁰.

(2) *Enkomi Tomb 18 S.48 (Figs. 3–5)*: The decoration of this vase has been described by Sjöqvist as follows: "A panel pattern of squares, filled with U-shaped ornament framed by

vertical, fringed lines. Below the handles are conventionalized designs of small horses or bulls..." This vase was illustrated in a group photograph¹², but only the front view is showing; the pictorial motifs below the handles have never been illustrated. The paint is very worn off, hence the hesitation for their identification. A close examination, however, and Mrs. Sjöblom's drawings show beyond doubt that here we have two bull figures with prominent horns. One of these bulls (Fig. 4, left) is drawn according to the tendencies of the ripe Cypro-Mycenaean pictorial style: the animal's body is drawn in outline, and is filled with small arrows¹³. The second bull is smaller and rather awkwardly drawn. The paint is very faint and the outlined figure is not filled with any motifs.

The space below the handles of Mycenaean IIIB bell craters is usually not decorated with pictorial or any other motifs; this is more frequent with amphoroid craters, where small motifs (usually birds, flowers or spirals) appear below the vertical handles¹⁴.

The above notes on two Mycenaean vases from Enkomi, as mentioned earlier, do not add much new to our knowledge of Mycenaean vase-painting. They are written exactly forty years after the discovery of these vases, as a homage to their discoverers, and an indication of the revival of interest in the Mycenaean pictorial style.

⁷ He may have seen such scenes on works of art which could travel such as seals or tapestry weaving. Cf. V. Karageorghis, "Two Mycenaean Bull craters in the G. G. Pierides Collection, Cyprus", *AJA* 60 (1956), 146.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 56, figs. 5a, 5b.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 146 notes 31, 32; Furumark, *op.cit.*, 440.

¹⁰ Cf. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 229f.

¹¹ *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, 556.

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. XC, second row from top, fourth from left.

¹³ For a similar rendering of an animal motif within a rectangular panel, see *CVA Cyprus*, pl. 10.6 (a fragmentary bell crater decorated with stags). For bull figures of the same style cf. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, pl. CXVIII, 10 (a jug decorated with a bull on the shoulder, from Enkomi Tomb 18 S. 5).

¹⁴ Cf. *CVA Cyprus* pl.5, 2.



Fig. 1. *Enkomi. T 18 S. 46.*

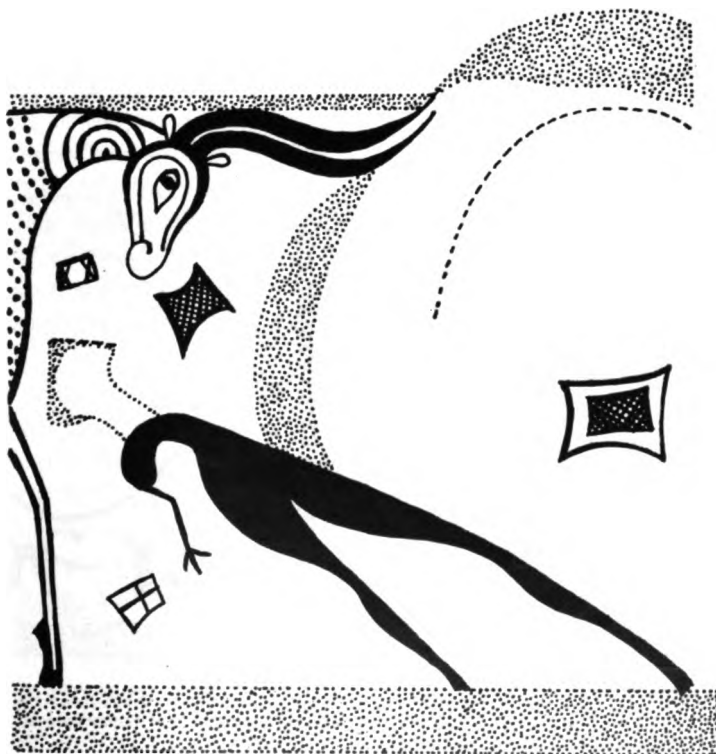


Fig. 2. *Detail of Enkomi. T. 18 S. 46.*



Fig. 3. Enkomi. T. 18 S. 48.

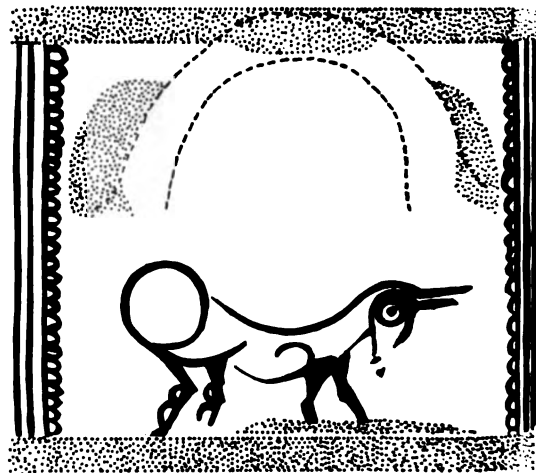
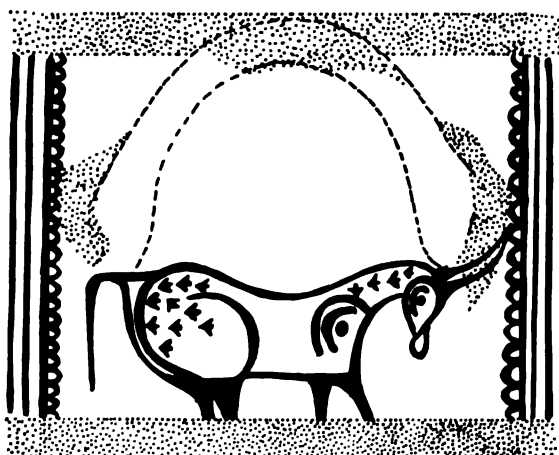


Fig. 4—5. Details of Enkomi, T 18 S. 48.

Arms, Armour and Dress of the Terracotta Sculpture from Ajia Irini, Cyprus

SYLVIA TÖRNKVIST

Introduction

The results of the excavations at Ajia Irini in Cyprus in 1930 were reported by Einar Gjerstad in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. II, Stockholm 1935¹. The report covers architecture, stratification and finds, according to the schedule of the whole expedition report. In 1933 Erik Sjöqvist wrote an article called "Die Kultgeschichte eines cyprischen Temenos" on the religious aspects of the place². A synthesis of the finds of the expedition from the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods was given by professor Gjerstad in 1948 in the SCE IV:2, where the Ajia Irini terracottas from ca. 650–100 B. C. were discussed in relation to other Cypriote and contemporary non-Cypriote sculpture³.

The terracotta sculpture group from Ajia Irini is still a unique find: there are ca. 2000 statuettes of varied size and quality, found in a chronologically well defined context and the major part of them in a very good state of preservation. Half of them are now at Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, and the other half has remained in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. A

few figurines are in museums at Lund, Malmö and Uppsala⁴.

In the "Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin no. 3" in 1963 E. Gjerstad described a number of "new" Ajia Irini figurines, put together of fragments during the years after the excavation⁵. Apropos of that Gjerstad suggested to me to take up a study of arms and armour among the figurines⁶. It appeared that the problems of armour were inseparately involved with problems of dress, so I have had to study the equipment on the whole.

⁴ See list below p. 55.

⁵ The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities. Stockholm 1963, pp. 3–40.

⁶ I want to express my gratitude to professor Gjerstad for this suggestion of his and for the kind interest he has later taken in my study of the terracottas. In 1970 my studies resulted in a cyclostyled dissertation at Lund, of which this article is an abbreviation. Also with the late professor K. Hanell, Dr H. Thylander and the members of the archaeological seminar of Lund there have been valuable discussions over some problems. Further the director of the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia, Dr V. Karageorghis, the former director of Medelhavsmuseet, now professor O. Vessberg, Stockholm, and the present director of Medelhavsmuseet, Dr C.-G. Styrenius, and their staffs have been most generous and helpful by giving access to the not very easily accessible objects. Also for the illustrations (when not prepared by myself) I thank the Cyprus Museum, Medelhavsmuseet and Antikmuseet, Lund. Finally I want to thank Mr and Mrs A. Parker, Chestnut Hill, Mass., who have read and corrected my manuscript, for their generous assistance.

¹ Pp. 642–824, pls. CLXXXVII–CCL.

² *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30. Leipzig/Berlin 1933, pp. 308–359.

³ Pp. 94–211, 339–361, 424 and 456 f.

During the years that have passed after the excavation much has happened in Cypriote and other Mediterranean archaeology which has thrown light upon formerly dark points. Going through the material I have also met some incongruities between the objects and the catalogue of the SCE, inevitable in such an immense number of finds⁷.

This study takes little or no interest in the dating of the statues⁸. The intentions are to discuss what can be learnt from the statuettes about the equipment and further which way the sculptors have shown various details with more or less success owing to difficulties and advantages due to the terracotta material.

⁷ Those who might in future take a special interest in the Ajia Irini sculpture will have to visit the museums of Nicosia and Stockholm where they are advised to consult my thesis for some corrections.

⁸ See below p. 54.

ARMOUR AND DRESS.

Cypriote dress has not been subject of any thorough examination or general survey. In "Homer and the Monuments" H. L. Lorimer describes "Dress in Cyprus", beginning with the schematically drawn garments on Mycenaean chariot-vases from Cyprus¹. Of later periods she mainly counts fibulas in tombs, e. g. of Amathus, but she does not take any interest in sculptured or painted representations of dress.

The way of dressing among our figurines cannot be taken as representative for civilians of archaic Cyprus, since, as will be discussed below, a large number of them are apparently armoured with some kind of jerkin. They are, however, not naked but dressed in chitons or tunics and in some cases also mantles.²

Mantles are draped in different ways. One way is to drape the mantle simply over the breast and both shoulders with the ends falling

down back (e. g. nos. 1141, SCE II pl. CCXII, 6–7 or 1796 and 2079+2105, SCE II pl. CCXIII, 6 and 7). This is obviously done without any use of fibulas or pins. Another way is draping the mantle only over one shoulder (e. g. no. 1741, SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7–8), probably using pins, in which case the effect obtained is often that of an oblong piece of cloth with its ends sewn together like a bandolier. Upon these themes there are many variations. The mantle of e. g. no. 1824+2139, (Figs. 1–2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) is quite evidently draped over the shoulder and not sewn.

Some of the mantles draped over one shoulder may be compared to Assyrian predecessors. Mary G. Houston describes some Assyrian drapery very thoroughly³ and one will find that many mantles appear in a more decorative than functional way. Among our mantles there are also some ones which would be impossible to imitate without making folds or seams, which are at least not visible on the statues now, e. g. no. 2072+2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV). When the mantles appear as with both ends sewn together, what is seen is certainly merely a simplification for a drapery too complicated for the sculptor. However, one end of the very simple bandolier-mantle of no. 1739+2345 (Figs. 3–4) is hanging back free over the left shoulder.

Especially interesting are the mantles of nos. 1044+2495 (SCE II pls. CCV, 2 and CCVI, 2–3), 1028+2077 (Fig. 5 and SCE II pl. CCVIII), and 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI). The mantle of the first mentioned statue (no. 1044+2495) is according to the SCE II "slung round both shoulders and falling along back of figure; . . . incised with horizontal lines at short intervals." It is unique in form and as regards the parallel incised lines, which may suggest folds of a very large mantle. Probably this garment should be understood as an oblong, rec-

¹ London 1950, pp. 391–394.

² Nos. 1763+1845 (SCE II pl. CXCVIII), 1490 and 1470 (SCE II pl. CCI) are perhaps naked on upper part of body.

³ M. G. Houston, *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian & Persian Costume and Decoration*. 2nd ed. repr. London 1964, pp. 132–148.



Figs. 1—2. No. 1824+2139. Profile and back.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



Figs. 3—4. No. 1739+2345. Front and profile.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

angular piece of cloth, even if realism is far from obtained by the straight lower border. The incised lines of course may be purely decorative rather than indicating folds. This way of draping the mantle over both shoulders can be seen also on sculptures from other places in Cyprus⁴.

The mantle of no. 1028+2077 is one of the most puzzling garments of our statues. It is slung over both shoulders, but the r. arm is held up over the upper border. It differs from most of the other mantles slung over both shoulders in falling down on the lower part of the figure. Then it "disappears" on r. side bottom. The r. side-flap logically ought to be covered by the mantle but is fully visible. Seen from behind (Fig. 5) it seems as though the mantle turned to the left and finished on the l. side, but on the l. side it reaches down to the middle of the lower part of the statue. Thus,

front and back sides of the statue do not agree. Were it not for the fringed border seen on l. side back, one might have believed that the mantle were draped over both shoulders but with the ends on front side. As it is now, the mantle looks as if provided with three ends. A suggestion about two mantles would not help much. One has to reckon with (now) invisible folds of drapery, for no cutting of a piece of cloth would give an effect like this.

No. 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI) is according to the catalogue of the SCE II "... dressed in a chiton reaching feet; short sleeves; broad lower border marked by oblique incisions... plain mantle draped over both shoulders and falling down to the waist." Probably the "lower border" is rather to be understood as another garment of a thinner quality with folds. Cf nos. 1824+2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) and 2072+2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV)! A comparison to no. 2079+2105 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 4 and 7)

⁴ E. g. SCE III pls. XIV f. and CXI.



Fig. 5. No. 1028 + 2077. Back.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

or no. 1796 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 6) will underline the impression that the lower border of the mantle is at the waist, although the colour may induce the eye to see a mantle as a long apron in front. If the mantle finishes at the waist (as it surely does), there must be two chitons and one mantle — a somewhat extensive way of dressing.

Here it might be an occasion to remember Assyrian mantles cut in semicircular form⁵. A combination of two mantles is hardly relevant

⁵ M. G. Houston, *op. cit.* fig. 130.

here, but what has been written⁶ about folds which must often be imagined in Assyrian representations of costume is likewise true of our statuettes. Cf our no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) with e. g. the statue of Ashurnasirpal II or the obelisk of Shalmaneser III⁷! Our mantle is simplified.

In Homeric Greece heroes were often dressed in skins of lions, panthers etc. and other people in skins of goats or sheep, a custom which country people preserved long after textiles had become the normal material for dress among the nobles and town people.⁸ The mantles of our statues have normally more evenly cut borders than would be probable for skins, and when the borders are painted, cloth is most likely the material to have been used. It is, however, not to be denied that the fringes of no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) might be a way of indicating a hairy pelt, and in quite another way the incised lines of the mantle of no. 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pls. CCV, 2 and CCVI, 2–3) could indicate fur, although the impression of this garment is rather a piece of starched linen cloth than skin.

About 35 of our statuettes are dressed in now distinguishable mantles. Several more may have been marked out with now disappeared colour. They appear often among the bigger, more impressive statues and are more frequent in per. 5 than in per. 4. Per. 6 cannot be taken into account, being poorly provided with bodies of statues. The growing frequency of mantles seems to be parallel to a growing interest in naturalistic rendering of drapery on the whole.

⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 144 and 148.

⁷ M. Bieber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht*, Berlin 1934, Taf. 5; Y. Yadin, *The Art of War-fare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery*, London 1963, p. 395.

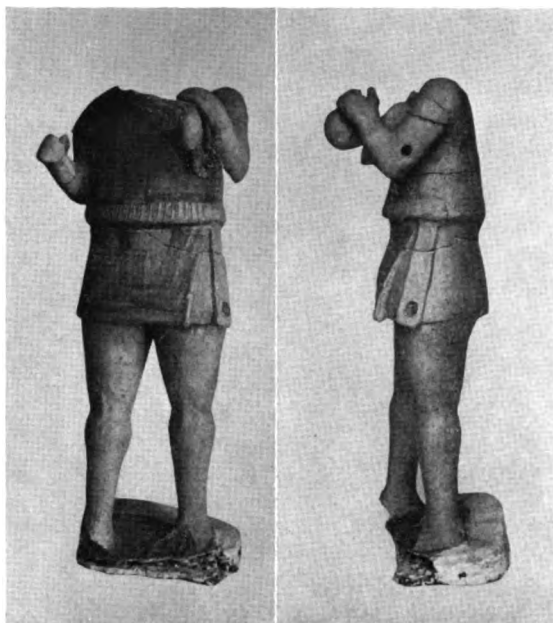
⁸ S. Marinatos, *Archaeologia Homerica I A*, Göttingen 1967, S. 14; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology V*, Leiden 1957 p. 45.

But notice no. 1566 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1–2) as early as from per. 4!

Figurines with mantles wear various kinds of helmets or plain bands round the head. No special combinations are discernible. Nor is this the case with weapons. The only statue of bigger size than small idol with shield preserved, no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) has no mantle. No. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6), who carries a sword, is according to the catalogue in the SCE II dressed in a mantle which I prefer to call a cuirass (below p. 16). No. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2) has no visible mantle, nor have nos. 1070 + 1072 + 1073 + 1075 (Figs. 6–7), 1084 (Fig. 8), 1276 (BMNE 3, p. 19 Fig. 26) or 2102 (SCE II, pl. CCII), who are all armed with swords. But no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4) has a plain but clearly draped mantle and the small idol no. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3), who carries a bow and a quiver, has a plain mantle marked out with paint. From these few examples, however, one cannot draw any conclusions as to combinations of mantles and weapons.

Our mantles are certainly more decorative than functional, often being worn on top of cuirasses: nos. 1071 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3 and 6), 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCV, 2), 1824 + 2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3), and others. One must not wholly overlook the chance that in these latter cases, instead of a jerkin there is only the drapery of the mantle itself, if it is long enough to be wrapped twice around the body or if there are even two smaller ones. Because of the similarity to jerkins worn without mantles I have, however, preferred to see mantles also there.

The sculptors have certainly had various kinds of drapery in their minds when working with the different sculptures, but they do not seem to have used living models. If they did, obviously they did not hesitate to simplify the mantles as well as other details. But before looking upon the drapery of chitons, we are



*Figs. 6–7. No. 1070+1072+1073+1075.
Front and profile. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.*



Fig. 8. No. 1084. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



Fig. 9. Bronze warrior from Salamis, T. 79.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

going to discuss cuirasses.

A systematical work about Greek cuirasses appeared in Leipzig in 1919, A. Hagemann, "Griechische Panzerung. I. Der Metallharnisch."⁹ During the 50 years that have passed since then, it was not until rather recently that archaeological finds were made and conditions changed so much that the book came out of date. In 1950 Miss Lorimer still maintained the then current opinion that mentionings of metal corslets by Homer must be later interpolations¹⁰. P. Courbin, who published his find of the Argive geometric corslet in 1957, refers to discussions of such Homeric interpolations as wasted ink¹¹, while Miss D. Gray in 1958 instead will change the date of all Homeric fights to an earlier period because of the Argos find.¹² The Dendra find in 1960 finally proved metal plate corslets to have existed already in the Bronze Age¹³. Also an article by N. Yalouris in 1960 confirms this¹⁴.

A. Snodgrass describes the history of the plate corslet in Europe as "extremely complicated", influences from the Eastern Mediterranean upon central European customs returning home in changed versions¹⁵, but one may hope that future finds will explain some of the riddles. He also mentions the scale corslet, "long established among Near Eastern peoples"¹⁶. While seldom appearing among the Greeks it seems natural that it did in Cyprus.

* Parts II—IV, "Das Lederkoller (einschl. Schuppenpanzers)", "Textile Panzerung," and "Kettenhemd (Eisen)" apparently and unfortunately never appeared.

⁹ *Op. cit.* pp. 196 f.

¹¹ "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos". *BCH* 81. 1957, p. 356.

¹² J. L. Myres, *Homer and his Critics*. Ed. by D. Gray. London 1958 p. 182.

¹³ E. Vanderpool, "News Letter from Greece." *AJA* 67, 1963, pp. 280 f. pls. 62 f.; G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1960." *BCH* 85, 1961, pp. 671 ff. figs 1—2. N. M. Verdelis, "Neue Funde von Dendra". *MDAI(A)* 82. 1967 pp. 8—20.

¹⁴ "Mykenische Bronzeschutzwaffen." *MDAI(A)* 75, 1960, pp. 42—67.

¹⁵ *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*. Edinburgh 1964 p. 83.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 84 ff.

Not only have a number of scales been found¹⁷, but there are also representations of scale armour on statuettes of stone¹⁸ and bronze¹⁹. The cuirass of the Cypriote king Kinyras²⁰ is generally accepted as a kind of scale armour with its differently coloured strips (οἰμοί).

In the Near East scale armour is known from the 15th cent. B. C. through finds at Nuzi in Mesopotamia²¹ and from Egypt of the 17th and 18th centuries²². A wall painting from a tomb of 15th cent. Egypt shows a bronze coat of nail²³. Finds and relief pictures of scale armour from Egypt²⁴ and especially Assyria²⁵ of later times are abundant, either of corslet type²⁶ or long garments covering the whole body²⁷. No wonder scale armour was used in Cyprus at the time of our terracotta statuettes, considering the political and cultural situation of the Eastern Mediterranean²⁸. But since no scales are visible on our figurines, we had better look out also for other materials known from this time.

Except for the Dendra corslet and the fragments from Kallithea mentioned above, Greek cuirasses from the Bronze Age are known to us only from paintings, namely of the Warrior ele and Warrior vase of Mycenae²⁹. These latter do not seem to be metal cuirasses, but the



Fig. 10. Reconstruction of bronze warrior from Salamis. Cyprus Mus. Nicosia.

later Geometric-Archaic metal so-called bell-corslet³⁰ reminds of them in its outline. Another early form of metal corslet, the tubular one, is only known from miniatures³¹.

Corslets of other materials are only known from vase paintings, where it is often hard to say, whether metal or e. g. leather is illustrated. In Geometric art it is not at all distinguishable. When it comes to Proto-Corinthian and Proto-Attic art, the left man of the upper scene to the right of the handle of the Chigi vase³² seems to wear a cuirass with short sleeves, such as would be uncomfortable in metal, but the man to the right of the flute-player has hardly any sleeves and there is a clearly distinguishable, out-standing lower rim of a metal bell-corslet.

³⁰ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pp. 73 ff.

³¹ *Op. cit.* p. 74.

³² *Op. cit.* pl. 36; P. E. Arias — M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst*. München 1960, pls. 16 and IV.

¹⁷ *SCE II* pls. V and CL (Amathus), CLXXII (Idalion); *SCE IV:2* fig. 20 (Idalion); A. Westholm, "Cypro-Archaic Splint Armour," *Acta Archaeologica* 1, 1938, pp. 163—173.

¹⁸ *SCE III* p. 366 no. 834 (Mersinaki); still later *SCE III* pp. 495 f. pls. CLXX f.no. 319 (Soli).

¹⁹ Salamis Tomb 79/129 (Figs 9—10), V. Karorghis, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1966," *BCH* 91, 1967, p. 339 ff. fig. 142.

²⁰ *Hom. II*, XI, 19—28.

²¹ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 196.

²² *Op. cit.* pp. 197 and 354.

²³ *Op. cit.* p. 197.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 192, 196, and 241.

²⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 388—461 *passim*; cf also R. D. Bart, "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949—53)," *Iraq* XXI, 1959, p. 16, fig. 14!

²⁶ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 295.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 400 ff.

²⁸ *SCE IV:2*, pp. 379 f.

²⁹ H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pls. II f.; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 354.

The neck amphora from Melos from ca. 650 B. C. shows a hoplite with bell-corslet and the sleeves of his chiton marked out with paint³³. On the Euphorbos plate³⁴ from Rhodes ca. 600 B. C. there is no doubt (metal corslet, no sleeves), but on a dinos of the Louvre ca. 600/590 B. C. there is a more dubious kind of a cuirass³⁵.

Leather or linen³⁶ corslets very similar to that of our no. 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3)³⁷, although with horizontal lower borders, are seen on a Siana cup in the Louvre³⁸. Exekias, who provides Achilles with a bell-corslet on the London neck-amphora with Achilles and Penthesileia³⁹, paints him and Ajax at play on the Vatican amphora⁴⁰ in another version of corslet with *ptyrges*. Whether these corslets are of metal with relief decoration⁴¹ or maybe embroidered linen or painted leather is not possible to know.

As we do not have any equivalents to that kind of corslet, we had better stop and return to the terracotta figurines. The sleeves of our jerkins point against a metal material. To the objection that perhaps we do not see where the plate corslet ends and the presumptive sleeves of a chiton come forth to view from beneath the cuirass, the answer must be that we can see the shoulder seams, which certainly belong to

one and the same garment, namely the corslet, e. g. on nos. 2106+2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) or 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3)⁴².

After its restoration our no. 1843+1726 (BMNE 3, figs. 21 f.) was described by E. Gjerstad⁴³ as wearing a leather corslet with a neck collar. In connection with this, Professor Gjerstad mentioned that some of the other statuettes, e. g. nos. 1728+1740 and 2106+2103 also had leather corslets, although that had not been especially pointed out in the report of the SCE II. There they were described as wearing chitons or tunics only. However, A. Westholm refers⁴⁴ to nos. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6-7) and 1189 (Figs. 11-12) as wearing "sculptured and painted cuirasses". It seems worth while to re-examine the statuettes as regards what garments they can be supposed to be wearing.

First, of course, one might ask whether a statue that is apparently dressed in a long chiton, really wears one or whether the sculptor just out of laziness or inability preferred to form a cylinder (= a chiton) before sculpturing two free legs appearing under a short tunic. At least one of the sculptors was able to make such legs: there are some 20 examples preserved among the bigger statues. The small idols are all provided with long chitons, that is, their bodies appear as merely wheelmade or handmade cylinders. This is only one among several other examples of simplifications for technical reasons. Cf e. g. the way the sword of no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) seems to pierce through the leather or cloth of the jerkin!

Another reason for doubts about the long chiton is that we are not accustomed to seeing men from the Greek world dressed like that. But we are acquainted with such garments from statuettes from the Near East, especially from

³³ *Op. cit.* pls. 22 f.

³⁴ *Op. cit.* pl. 27; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pl. 6.

³⁵ P. E. Arias — M. Hirmer, *op. cit.* pl. 37 bottom.

³⁶ Cf *Opuscula Romana* VIII, Lund 1969, pp. 81 f.

³⁷ No. 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3) seems at the first look to be wearing a short tunic (SCE II p. 737), but the ridged seams indicate that the garment is a leather jerkin (BMNE 3, p. 36). Cf no. 1+1618+1619 SCE II pl. CXCI, 1), a very similar statuette, probably made by the same sculptor, but the jerkin and the tunic beneath are clearly sculptured as two different garments. If the "longer jerkin" of no. 1728+1740 has not been painted once to show two different garments, this is the only example of such a cuirass type, covering also the abdominal parts of the body.

³⁸ P. E. Arias — M. Hirmer, *op. cit.* pl. 48.

³⁹ *Op. cit.* pls. 64 and XVIII.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* pls. 62 and XVII.

⁴¹ Cf the "Crowe corslet", *Olympia* IV pl. LIX; BCH 7, 1883 pls. I-III!

⁴² No. 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2) is dressed in a long garment with a marking of borders and seams as if indicating a material stiffer than normal for a chiton. A long variant of a leather or linen corslet?

⁴³ BMNE 3, 1963, pp. 35 f.

⁴⁴ *Acta Archaeologica* IX, 1938, p. 163, n. 1.



Figs. 11—12. No. 1189. Front and profile. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



13. Painted terracotta bust from Aphani. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



Figs. 14—15. Painted terracotta bust from Kazaphani. Front and back. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

Assyrian reliefs. The archers, above all, who have no hand free for carrying a shield, are often protected by long garments, often backed with scales. There is no sign of scales, however, on the smooth surface of our terracotta figurines, either in relief or painted.

If the dress of the statuettes is to be understood as woollen or linen, the stiffness is outstanding; still the designs are such as for the figurines to be able to move in them. How to dress and undress seems to have been a problem, unless we imagine openings not indicated to our eyes. It may be noticed that the chitons do not seem less stiff than the eventual leather or linen corslets.

Our nos. 1070 etc.⁴⁵ and 1189 (Figs. 6–7, 11–12) show a certain relationship to some painted terracotta busts from Salamis⁴⁶ and Kazaphani (Figs. 13–15)⁴⁷ which may be of interest here, showing a scale pattern as a background to floral motifs in the squares of the painted decoration. This pattern, here merely decorative, may reflect the custom of wearing scale armour, but the same pattern appears also on architectural terracottas⁴⁸ and vases of the same time. J. A. H. Munro suggested⁴⁹ that there were scaled cuirasses worn under embroidered chitons. The idea might be attractive, but still a little adventurous. In Hellenistic sculpture folds of a thicker garment are often shown as

through a thinner one, but the artists of our period were hardly as sophisticated as that. It seems safer only to presume a decorative influence from scaled armour upon a cuirass of another material, and rather a linen one with embroidery than a metal one with relief decoration.

For probably one had better not over-estimate the importance and use of metal cuirasses. Other kinds of corslets have been current at the same time. An explanation of the fact as socially conditioned — metal being more expensive than leather or linen — does not say the whole truth. Homer twice provides his heroes with linen corslets in the catalogue of ships: Aias, Oileus' son⁵⁰ and the Trojan Amphius⁵¹ — were they poorer than others? Different materials may have been used under various conditions of temperature, mobility etc. A metal corslet must have been terribly hot to wear in summer, even if padded with cloth⁵² or made out of small scales which did not quite exclude air circulation. Theories brought forth about the connections between hoplite tactics and metal armour are not conclusive⁵³.

If, like the terracotta busts of Salamis and Kazaphani (Figs. 13–15), our nos. 1070 etc., 1189 (Figs. 6–7, 11–12), and 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6) are wearing linen corslets, why are these so short? The material cannot have been too expensive. An influence from metal corslets? That the figures are warriors wearing some kind of cuirass is upheld by the fact that no. 1070 etc. and no. 2344 + 2324 are armed with swords and no. 1189 has probably held a spear in his right hand. The lower

⁴⁵ In the catalogue of the SCE II there is a suggestion about the painted ornaments on the lower part of the tunic as indicating a bag hanging from the girdle. That is not very probable. There are no other bags among the sculptures and such a thing would be likely to appear in relief, if not in round sculpture, not only marked out with paint. For other ornamentations on the abdominal parts of the bodies, cf below pp. 18 ff!

⁴⁶ J. A. R. Munro, "Excavations in Cyprus". *JHS* 12, 1891 pp. 150 ff. pl. X; *H. B. Walters*, Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum. London 1903, pp. 17–20, nos. A 107–119, figs. 4–6.

⁴⁷ Figs. 13–15; Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, Report 2, 1935, p. 7, pl. II, 3–4.

⁴⁸ R. M. Dawkins, The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. *BSA Suppl.* Paper 5. London 1929, pls. XXII ff.; *H. Payne*, Necrocorinthia. Oxford 1931, pl. 11 bis. no. 156 (from Kameiros).

⁴⁹ *JHS* 12, 1891, pp. xliv and 151 ff.

⁵⁰ *Hom. II.* II, 529.

⁵¹ *Hom. II.* II, 830.

⁵² *H. L. Lorimer*, Homer and the Monuments, p. 211.; *O. Montelius*, La civilisation primitive en Italie. II. Stockholm 1910, pl. 287, 3.; *P. Courbin*, "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos". *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 350, figs. 35 f.

⁵³ *H. L. Lorimer*, "The Hoplite Phalanx". *BSA* 42, 1947, pp. 76–138; *R. Nierhaus*, "Eine frühgriechische Kampfform". *Jdl* 53, 1938, pp. 90–113; *A. Snodgrass*, *op. cit.* p. 89.

part of no. 2344+2324 is missing. The two other ones wear short tunics slit up at one side. The apparent thickness of these tunics may be explained by the terracotta material of the cultpures, but it might also be suggested that the tunics like the corslets could be leathern or made out of several layers of linen, so as to be protective. The same might be the case with nos. 1385+1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) and 524+2333+2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2), though their cuirasses are of a somewhat different type, without the tasseled, lower border.

A jerkin of a similar type, also without the tasseled lower border, is seen on no. 1+1618+519 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 1) and from this one the step is not far to no. 1728+1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 2-3) who looks like his twin, though their costumes differ a little. No. 1+

1618+1619 has, with no doubt, two garments, the jerkin and a tunic or kilt, while no. 1728+1740 has only one visible, namely a prolonged corslet with a rounded lower border. Here one possibly ought to imagine a jerkin finishing at the waist and a tunic beneath.

Very similar to these statues is no. 2106+2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) and, as regards the corslet, also a number of other statuettes, nos. 1049 etc. (BMNE 3, fig. 28), 1010+1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 4-5), 1144 (SCE II pl. CXCVI, 3-4), 1746 (SCE II pl. CXCVIII, 1-3), 1805 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVII, 3), and 1843+1726 (BMNE 3, figs. 21 f.). All these have girdled chitons and side-flaps, except for no. 1843+1726, where the lower part of the figure is missing.

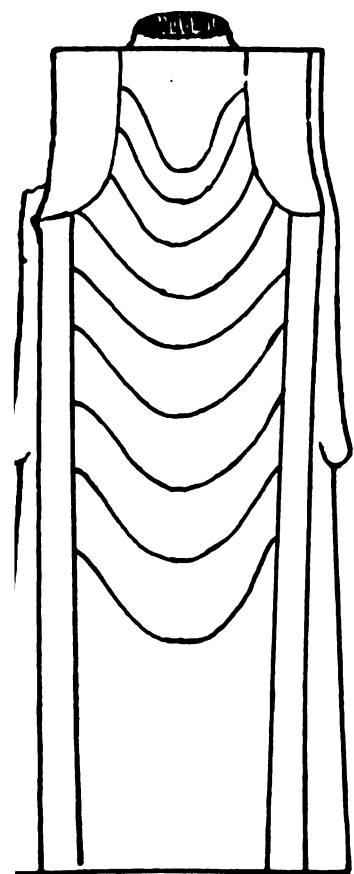


Fig. 16. No. 1151. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

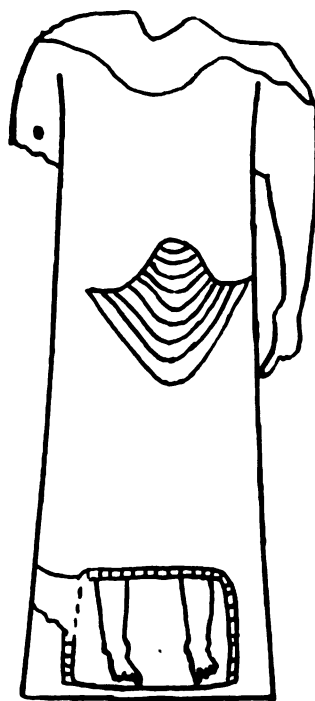


Fig. 17. No. 1083. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



Fig. 18. No. 1320. Cyprus
Museum, Nicosia.

Now there is one problem: to which garment do the side-flaps belong? To the jerkin or the chiton? Gjerstad writes in the *BMNE* 3, p. 15: "The jerkin was provided with side-flaps" and on p. 21 of no. 1049 etc.: "The part of the chiton on the lower part of the body is provided with side-flaps." Still he presumes a girdle for no. 1843: "... no girdle indicated plastically but probably in paint now effaced; below this supposed girdle vertical folds grooved." If the side-flaps belong to the chitons one must understand them as uplifted cloth bulging out over the girdles, while the concentric folds come out as a result of this lifting. If, on the other hand, the side-flaps belong to the corslets⁵⁴,

what will become of the semi-circular lines? We cannot be absolutely sure that they are folds at all. On statues like nos. 1010 + 1030 (*SCE* II pl. CCXII, 4–5), 1044 + 2495 (*SCE* II pl. CCV, 2), 1151 (Fig. 16), 1725 (*SCE* II pl. CCIX, 1), 1746 (*SCE* II pl. CXCIII, 1–3) and 2106 + 2103 (*SCE* II pl. CXC) they appear in so conventionalized forms⁵⁵ that one would not recognize folds in the lines, if one did not remember such from other statues like nos. 1016 + 2505 (*SCE* II pl. CCXVII), 1141 (*SCE* II pl. CCXII, 6–7) or 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1–2 and *SCE* II pl. CCVII, 3). On no. 1016 + 2505 there are also vertical folds, such as will actually appear, if cloth is being lifted up in the way suggested above. And in the case of no. 1141 there are the parallelly drawn folds of the mantle to compare with.

This seems to favour a theory that folds of an intelligible form have become conventionalized into these unnatural, stiff ridges. Most of the folds appear already in per. 4, which is, however, the longest period to which most of the finds belong. The fact that nos. 1016 + 2505 (*SCE* II pl. CCXVII) and 2079 + 2105 (*SCE* II pl. CCXIII, 7) with more "natural" folds belong to per. 5 does not prove the contrary either, for in per. 5 we also find nos. 1010 + 1030 (*SCE* II pl. CCXII, 4–5), 1049 etc. (*BMNE* 3, fig. 28), and 1725 (*SCE* I pl. CCIX, 1) with

⁵⁴ The square form of the sideflaps of no. 1016 + 2505 (*SCE* II pl. CCXVII) cannot possibly indicate uplifted cloth. — No. 1037 + 2454 (*SCE* II pl. CCIX, 5) has rounded sideflaps, but the lack of folds on the tunic points towards the belonging of the sideflaps to the jerkin.

⁵⁵ Cf also the straight lines on no. 1071 (*SCE* II pl. CXC, 3, 5–6 and *BMNE* 3, 1963, fig. 20); the lines on no. 1083 (fig. 17) are not concentric but parallel, curved lines broken off by or hidden behind vertical edges — of an outer garment? (Cf e. g. *SCE* III pl. XXXVI, I); the overfold of no. 1099 + 2735 (*SCE* II pl. CCXXXIII, 4–5) forms an un-broken, curved line, altogether decorative; on no. 1320 (fig. 18) the lines are curved upside down as compared to all the other statues; on no. 1767 (*SCE* II pl. CCV, 1.) the "rounded sideflaps" are overlapping, but one had better not call them sideflaps at all, for here is rather something like the "hittite" type of a skirt.



Fig. 19. No. 1059.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

typically conventionalized, semi-circular lines. Nos. 1141 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 6–7), 1566 (SCE II pl. CXCV, 1–2), and 1824 + 2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) which seem more “naturally” draped are all of per. 4. From per. 6 there are very few statues with lower part of the body preserved. One is no. 926, now restored with no. 1059 (Fig. 19) as lower part of the body, where the folds are a little clumsy but still conventionalized. Other statues of the period lack folds. So these chronologically established facts do not help here, when we try to find out, if the “natural” folds are older or younger

than the “conventionalized”. They seem rather to be parallel.

If after all the “conventionalized folds” are no folds at all, what else could they be? I would like to suggest an altogether different interpretation: that they are to be understood as a kind of protection for the abdominal part of the body, where the jerkin finished, to facilitate movements of its wearer. Cf the later Greek and Roman *ptyrges*, well-known from vase-paintings and Roman sculptured cuirasses! Now, instead of such vertical leather straps, we might here be dealing with something like the Homeric *mitre*, known in metal in the form of rounded little “aprons”. Many examples are known from Crete of the 7th century, especially Axos⁵⁶, and from the Greek mainland⁵⁷, possibly of Greek origin. The so far latest known version (fourth century B. C.) is from Ruec in Thrace⁵⁸, horizontally divided into two pliable parts and provided with rings for suspension. Most of the *mitrai* are decorated with figural motifs within a border marked by an incised line. Our parallel semicircular lines may recall these incised border lines.

It is hardly an attractive theory that the lines might be understood as seams, compared to the ridged seams on the shoulders of some of the statues, e. g. no. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) or 1746 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 1–3). What sense would it make to sew a lot of leather strips together instead of using a whole piece of leather? Decorative reasons?

The lines may also be only reminiscences of the *mitrai* which had gone out of use and, misunderstood by the sculptors, were changed

⁵⁶ D. Levi, “I bronzi di Axos”. *Annuario* 13–14, 1930–31, pp. 59–80, figs. 14–21, 24, 28 pls. XIII–XV.

⁵⁷ References in A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 241 n. 56; H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*. Münster 1966, pp. 25–28; H. Bartels, *VIII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1967, pp. 196–207, 263 f., pls. 100–105.

⁵⁸ L. Ogenova, “Les cuirasses de bronze trouvées en Thrace.” *BCH* 85, 1961, pp. 519, 522 f., fig. 14.



Fig. 20. No. 1081. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

into folds. However, the "folds" of the chiton of no. 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCV, 2) are rather different from the folds of the mantle of the same statue.

I will not stress the probability of the theory of *mitrai* too much, but the geographical fact that Crete seems to be the home of the *mitrai* points at least to the probable knowledge of this kind of protection in Cyprus. Anyway, the concentrating of the interest to the abdominal part of the body is remarkable in our terracotta figurines. The unusual circumstance in which a metal piece of armour is known from real finds but not from artistical representations in the Greek world⁵⁹ leaves us without help of comparisons. But we also lack such comparisons for the peculiar way of dressing in garments so long as to cover the feet, in spite of the fact that they are held up by girdles. Even for parade uniforms, functional points of view seem remarkably neglected. However, the length of the garments is perhaps just the result of an unwillingness to model the free legs and does not prove anything. In Cyprus, most time of the year a dress covering the whole body is not necessary for climatic reasons. Using them as a protection, like the long Assyrian garments, it would be utterly unpractical to make them as long as to have to girdle them up. The semi-circular lines remain puzzling, whether we understand them as folds or anything else.

In one single case, no. 1081 (Fig. 20), there are ridged folds and side-flaps also on the back. Only the lower part of the figure is preserved. It wears a short tunic, leaving the legs free. Very seldom something is clearly indicated on the back of a statue. In the cases where there are girdled chitons with cloth bulging out over the girdles in front, it will be correct to imagine the backs equal with the fronts. But if there are corslets to protect the bodies as far as possible, there is no reason for them to finish

⁵⁹ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 89.

at the waist on the back, where movements would not be hindered by a longer jerkin. Or were these heroes too brave to protect their backs?

The existence of some kind of protective corslets of leather or linen on a major part of the bigger statuettes can be taken for granted. However, it happens that such a garment is worn in altogether civilian circumstances, like no. 1049 etc. (BMNE 3, fig. 28), who is apparently going to sacrifice a little buck. The presence of shields and weapons in connection with them is very irregular. Such attributes may sometimes have got lost, but often there have never been any. Thus the main intentions of the sculptors cannot have been to illustrate well-equipped little soldiers but rather worshippers dressed up for a religious ceremony in a shrine of a war-god. It may have been correct to wear "uniforms", and if somebody preferred, only a helmet, serving as a *pars pro toto*.

HELMETS.

The standard work on Greek helmets is still J. Kukahn's "Der griechische Helm", Marburg 1936. In H. L. Lorimer's "Homer and the Monuments" one chapter is devoted to helmets.¹ Important finds have been made since then, e. g. at Olympia and Argos. A. Snodgrass in his first chapter of "Early Greek Armour and Weapons" gave the latest news available in 1964 and in the "VIII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia" there is an important chapter on "Helme" by E. Kunze.²

For the Near East there has not appeared any general survey after the chapter on "Helm" in

Bonnet's "Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients"³. Still less is there any monograph on priote helmets, although such are mentioned in their relations to Greek and Near Eastern

ones in the above works and in the SCE IV:2 there is a survey in the chapter on "Foreign Relations"⁴.

The earliest ones are from the Late Bronze age⁵. To the Iron age helmets, parts of helmets, and representations of helmets in art mentioned by Snodgrass, may above all be added the finds of a conical bronze helmet from Kouklia⁶ and the bronze figurine of a warrior from a chariot of Salamis Tomb 79 wearing a helmet with a forward-curving crest (Figs. 9–10)⁷.

Representations of helmets in archaic limestone and terracotta sculpture are not few. From Ajia Irini there are even two bronze statuettes, wearing conical, knobbed helmets, nos. 2029 and 1479 (SCE II pl. CCXL, 5 and 6–7). In limestone there are nos. 1095 and 1228 from Ajia Irini (SCE II pl. CCXXXIX) with plain, conical helmets. From other places in Cyprus are limestone and terracotta helmeted heads, now in Nicosia, New York, London, or Stockholm etc.⁸. These and others will be mentioned below, in relation to our figurines.

The major part of our statuettes and idols are wearing helmets of various kinds. In a number of cases it may be discussed, whether there is a cap or a helmet in form of a cap. However, most of the helmets are unmistakable. One type is conical, not seldom with upturned or hanging cheek-pieces. The top may be hollow or closed. Another type has the top bent back, indicating a softer material. Further there is a number of "flat caps" and several of uncertain type, be-

⁴ SCE IV: 2, pp. 378 f.

⁵ H. W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World. Oxford 1964, pp. 137 f., pl. 17.

⁶ V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1965", BCH 90, 1966, pp. 320 ff., fig. 55; V. Karageorghis, "Nouvelles tombes de guerriers à Palaepaphos." BCH 91, 1967, pp. 234 f., figs. 20 and 24.

⁷ V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1966", BCH 91, 1967, p. 340, fig. 142.

⁸ Cesnola, Atlas I – II *passim*; J. L. Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus. New York 1914, nos. 1257 ff., 1282 ff., 1351 f.; SCE IV:2 pls. II, V and X; P. Dikaios, A Guide to the Cyprus Museum, 3rd. ed. Nicosia 1961, pl. XIX, 4.

London 1950, pp. 211–250.

Edinburgh 1964, pp. 3–35; Berlin 1967 pp. 111–

Leipzig 1926, pp. 201–209.

cause of damages to the heads or entire lack of them. A try to give statistical facts about the various types proved to be senseless because of the great uncertainty in too many cases.

No. 1323 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 3) may represent the type with helmet and head in one piece and straight spike. No. 1191 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVI, 5) is similar but with hollow spike. It is not certain that the holes are intended for inserting anything at all, but they might be there for inserting crest-holders⁹. Sometimes there are rather big openings on top, e. g. on no. 904 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 8) and 936 (SCE II CCIX, 6), which remind of the bronze statuettes nos. 1479 and 2029 of Ajia Irini (SCE II pl. CCXL).

Anyway, the form of the straight helmets seems to indicate a metal material¹⁰. There are variants on the theme of straight helmets: e. g. no. 1564 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVII, 5) showing a "modelled" helmet with its top broken but probably having been straight. Other examples are those of nos. 1044 + 2495 and 1767 (SCE II pls. CCV f.). Both of them might be called "conical" and "straight", although their outlines are rather different, the spike of no. 1767 being much slimmer and taller. Both are closed on top. The form of no. 1044 + 2495 is similar to that of the Kouklia helmet¹¹ or the helmet of a warrior of an orthostat relief from Tell Halaf¹² or even to those of soldiers of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud¹³. However, the Assyrian types vary: our 1767 is very similar in outline to helmets on warriors of Tiglathpileser III of Nimrud¹⁴, which are actually also very similar to the bronze helmet of Sarduri, found at Karmir

Blur, decorated with pictures in relief¹⁵. Our helmets are plain but may of course have been painted. A similar type of top has the Greek "Kegelhelm" from early 7th Cent. Greece¹⁶.

Some helmets have knobbed tops, e. g. the very tall helmet of no. 1363 (SCE II pl. CCIII 3—4, 7—8), and the rather low one of no. 2169 (SCE II pl. CCXXIII, 1 and BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 31). Low helmets with knobs are common on limestone statuettes of Cyprus¹⁷. The biggest knob belongs to the helmet of no. 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6). Cf knobbed helmets of reliefs from Tell Ahmar¹⁸, Aleppo¹⁹, and Malatya²⁰. Further a weather-god and warrior from Zenjirli²¹ and the chimaera of Carchemish²².

The material used for knobbed helmets, or at least some of them, will be discussed below (p. 31). Another kind of conical helmet has the top bent back, e. g. nos. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) and 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC), whose tops are only bent at the very end. But a great number of statuettes have their bent tops hanging down back quite a bit, like nos. 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 2) and 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1—2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3). The soft tops must indicate some material softer than metal, probably leather, which must, however,

¹⁵ R. D. Barnett — D. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia." *Iraq* XIV, 1952, p. 139 pls. XXXII f.; R. D. Barnett, "An Assyrian Helmet". *The British Museum Quarterly* XVIII, 1953, pp. 101 f. pls. XXXI f.; W. Nagel, "Ein urartäischer Helm aus dem Argisti-Magazin". *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIX, 1959/60, pp. 144—147 figs. 1—2, 4; E. Kunze, "Ein Bronzehelm aus der Perserbeute". *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1961 pp. 131—133, figs. 72—74; B. B. Piotrovski, "Teichebaini, centre ourartien du VII^e siècle..." *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures péritiques*. Paris 1965, p. 412, pl. 96, 2.

¹⁶ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pls. 5 and 9.

¹⁷ E. g. SCE IV:2, pls. II, V and XIV.

¹⁸ H. Bossert, *Altsyrien*. Tübingen 1951, figs. 442 f.

¹⁹ H. Bossert, *op. cit.* fig. 495.

²⁰ H. Bossert, *Altanatolien*. Berlin 1942, figs. 769 f.

²¹ H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. London 1958, pl. 160.

²² H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 161.

⁹ Cf P. Courbin, "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos." *BCH* 81, 1957 p. 359 fig. 43!

¹⁰ Cf H. W. Catling, *op. cit.* pl. 17!

¹¹ Above note. 6.

¹² Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 360.

¹³ *Op. cit.* pp. 390 f.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 407.

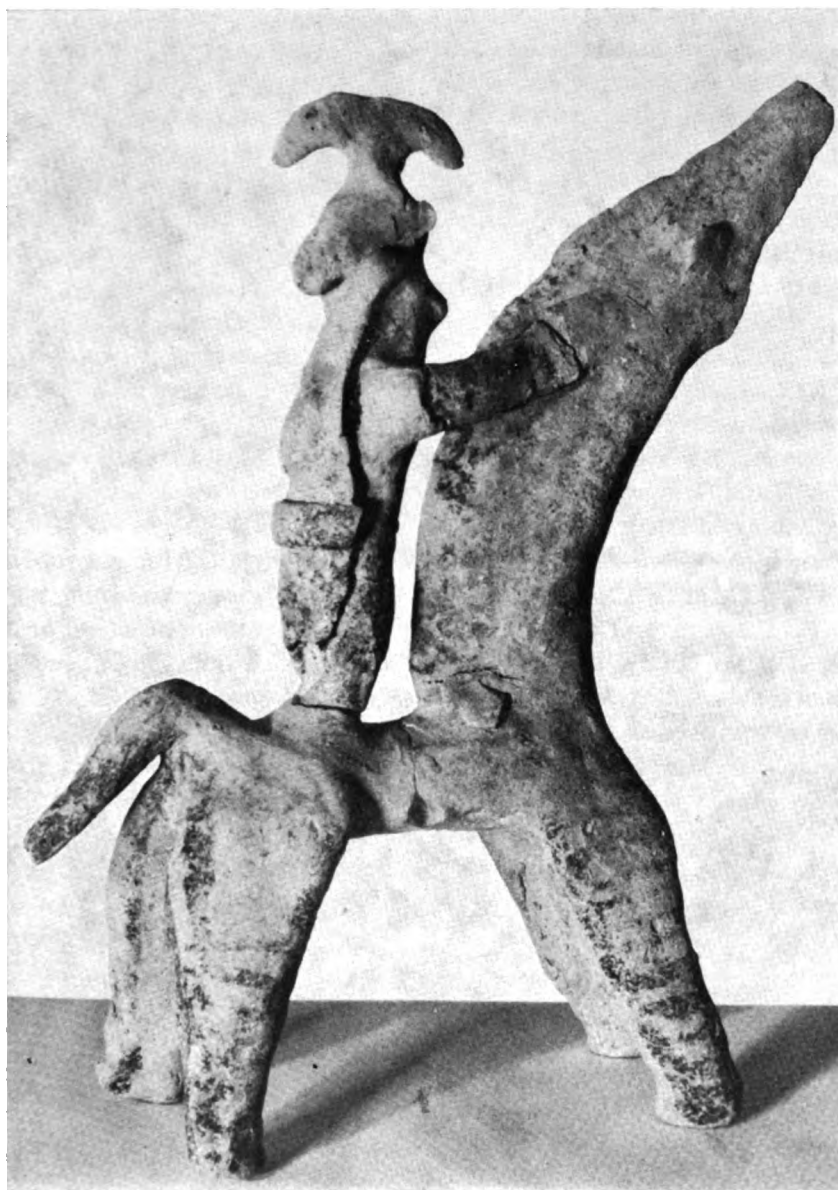


Fig. 21. Terracotta horse rider. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



Fig. 22. Terracotta figurines from Kaloriziki. Nos. 51, 52 and 55. Museum of Episkopi, Cyprus.



Fig. 23. Terracotta figurines from Kaloriziki. Nos. 52, 53 and 54. Museum of Episkopi, Cyprus.

be fairly hard in the case of no. 1028 + 2077! For apparent reasons leather helmets are not preserved since antiquity. But there are representations of such, e. g. at Tell Halaf²³, and also from Ashur²⁴ and on the boundary-stone of Marduk-Apal-Idina, an extremely long top, like a tail²⁵. That is, however, not the common Assyrian type, which is the straight one.

Only one of our figurines has the top bent forwards: no. 1803 (SCE II pl. CCXXX, 9). This is probably no mistake, as would be tempting to presume, for a large number of figurines of similar appearance are known from Kourion²⁶. And lately, a bronze soldier from a chariot of Tomb 79, Salamis, has appeared to wear a forward-curving crest (Figs. 9–10) finishing with a “cyclop’s eye” in front²⁷. Cf also the “Oriental” examples of Snodgrass and a similar crest from Khorsabad²⁸!

In the Cyprus Museum of Nicosia there is an Archaic terracotta horse rider with a stilted crest (Fig. 21)²⁹. In the Kourion Museum there is a terracotta figure from Kaloriziki wearing such a one (Figs. 22–23)³⁰. Also from Kourion in the Cesnola Collection, New York, are small terracotta horse riders with “close crest passing over the apex from front to rear”³¹.

Our no. 2497 + 2478 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 34 a) has a badly damaged helmet, but in the neck are remains of what must have been a ridged crest of a similar type³². Cf also helmets pictured on the Amathus bowl³³!

²³ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 363.

²⁴ H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 73 A.

²⁵ H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 120.

²⁶ Cesnola, *Atlas II* pl. XXX nos. 259–262; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*. Philadelphia 1955 p. 199 pls. 26 ff. *passim*.

²⁷ Above note 7.

²⁸ Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 7 fig. 1; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 420.

²⁹ P. Dikaios, *op. cit.* p. 203 no. 27.

³⁰ Figs. 22 f. no. 52 = J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pl. 61 no. 404.

³¹ Cesnola, *Atlas II* pl. LXXII no. 655.

³² E. Gjerstad, *BMNE* 3, 1963 p. 25.

³³ E. Gjerstad, “Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus”. pl. VI. *Opuscula Archaeologica IV*. Lund 1946.

L. Palma di Cesnola describes in his “Atlas” a terracotta head from Dali as provided with a “crest ($\frac{3}{4}$ inch. wide) shaped like a loop or a handle”³⁴. It has a certain similarity to the crest of the Salamis bronze warrior, but it is rather, like on our nos. 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7–8) and 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1–2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) the top of the helmet being bent back.

H. E. Stier traces the origin of the stilted as well as the unstilted crests to the Hittite cultural sphere³⁵. Which way they got to Cyprus would be a complicated thing to find out, since the Cypriotes were under influence from various cultures.

Some of the helmets are modelled with a neck-cover: nos. 906 + 928 + 931 (SCE II pl. CCXV, 3–4) and 1010 + 1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 1–2) with no doubt, as illustrated by the slightly outwards-turned border. Also no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) is clear, but when it comes to e. g. nos. 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI) or 1016 + 2505 (SCE II pl. CCXVII) it seems more likely that what is indicated in the neck is just the hair. Unfortunately the dark paint indicating hair is often effaced. The length of the hair is more or less the same as that of the neck-covers.

Two of our helmets mentioned above, those of our nos. 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1–2) and 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1–2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) are provided with upturned cheek-pieces. These are very common components of the helmet, whether upturned or hanging, like e. g. those of nos. 1025 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 2) or 1804 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVII, 2), the latter a little outturned (indicating metal?). Cheek-pieces are not exclusively found among soft helmets but among the straight ones as well.

On the terracotta statuettes the cheek-pieces

³⁴ Cesnola, *Atlas II*, pl. XXX no. 256.

³⁵ H. E. Stier, “Probleme der frühgriechischen Geschichte und Kultur.” *Historia I*, 1950, pp. 214–222.



Fig. 24. No. 33. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.



**Fig. 25. No. 1389.
Back of helmet.
Gustavianum,
Uppsala.**



**Fig. 26. No. 1505 a. Back of helmet.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.**



**Fig. 27. No. 1538.
Back of helmet.
Medelhavsmuseet,
Stockholm.**



Fig. 28. No. 1741.
Back of helmet.
 Cyprus Museum,
 Nicosia.



Fig. 29. No. 2100.
Back of helmet.
 Medelhavsmuseet,
 Stockholm.



Fig. 30. No. 2102. Profile and back of helmet.
 Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.



Fig. 31. No. 1071. Back of helmet.
 Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.



Fig. 32. No. 2071.
Profile of head.
 Cyprus Museum,
 Nicosia.

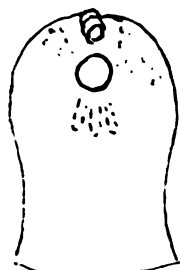


Fig. 33. No. 1016+2505.
Back of helmet.
 Medelhavsmuseet,
 Stockholm.

are normally of a simple, oblong form, narrowing towards the straps, but there is one remarkable exception: those of no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) have a "scalloped" form³⁶ according to Snodgrass compared to the cheek-pieces of the Late Minoan helmet from Knossos³⁷ and the Submycenaean one of Tiryns³⁸, where the curves, however, are not as distinguished as those on our statuette, which protect a larger part of the cheeks, thus maybe forming an intermediate stage to the later Greek form, where much of the face is protected by the helmets themselves. The helmet of no. 1385 + 1530 is a metal one with tall straight top and a sharply profiled outline. The cheek-pieces of no. 930 (SCE II pl. CCXVIII, 4-5) do not seem to lie outside the helmet itself but rather to be part of it, as if the helmet were sewn like a foot-ball out of several pieces of leather. Since the statue is a late one (of per. 6), the significance of the cheek-pieces may have become forgotten by the sculptor and the incised lines merely decorative. Cf also no. 1010 + 1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 1-2)!

The cheek-pieces are of course not to be understood as hanging freely down, when the helmets were used in battle. There ought to have been straps to tie them with. Cf Homer, *Iliad* III, 371! Normally the cheek-pieces do not have any straps indicated, e. g. nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619, 1728 + 1740 (both SCE II pl. CXCI) or 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC). The straps simply "disappear" under the bent top. But straps are indicated in a few of the upturned versions: nos. 33 (Fig. 24), 1389 (Fig. 25 and SCE II pl. CXCIX, 4), 1505 (a + b) (Fig. 26

and SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 5)³⁹, 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2, 4), 1538 (fig. 27), 1562 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 4, straps not visible), and 2332 + 2360 (not illustrated). The cheek-pieces of no. 1538 have once continued in straps which have fallen off but left dark lines showing how they have crossed each other on the back of the neck.

In the Louvre there is a terracotta head with cheek-pieces properly tied under the chin⁴⁰. No. 1258 of the Cesnola Collection, New York⁴¹, shows the straps tied together in a knot in front of the top knob, while no. 1257 of the same collection according to Cesnola is "surmounted by a top knot, from which two cords, with tassels in relief, hold the cheek-bands of the head-dress tied up"⁴².

Holes for straps in the cheek-pieces can be seen e. g. on helmets from Olympia⁴³. Remains of iron cheek-pieces from Cyprus have been found at Idalion⁴⁴. The bronze ones mentioned in the SCE II⁴⁵ have later been reinterpreted as horse blinkers⁴⁶. For straps ending in tassels cf also the faience rhyton of Kition⁴⁷ and a vase from Kouklia⁴⁸! Tassels of straps meeting in the neck are found also on the above mentioned colossal limestone head of Golgoi⁴⁹, and on a

³⁶ There are two almost identical statues numbered 1505, one (a) in Nicosia, identical with the description of the catalogue of the SCE II and the photos (Fig. 26 and SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 5), and one (b) in Stockholm, nearly exactly the same but ca. 5 cm smaller.

⁴⁰ H. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, fig. 133.

⁴¹ Cesnola, *Atlas I*, pl. XXXV no. 222; J. Myres, *op. cit.* p. 196; SCE IV:2 pl. V (top).

⁴² Cesnola, *op. cit.* pl. XXXIX no. 253; J. Myres, *op. cit.* pp. 195 f.; SCE IV:2; pl. II (top).

⁴³ E. Kunze, "Helme". *VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1958, pp. 140 f., figs. 102 f.

⁴⁴ Idalion nos. 505 and 1071. SCE II pl. CLXXXVIII. 14-15; SCE IV:2 p. 133, fig. 20:8.

⁴⁵ SCE II pl. CLXXVI, 1-4.

⁴⁶ SCE IV:2 pp. 147 f., fig. 26.

⁴⁷ V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1962". *BCH* 87, 1963, pp. 368 ff., pl. VIII.

⁴⁸ V. Karageorghis, "A propos de quelques représentations de chars sur des vases chypriotes de l'âge du fer". *BCH* 90, 1966 pp. 105 f., fig. 3.

⁴⁹ Above note 41.

³⁶ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 4.

³⁷ M. S. F. Hood — P. de Jong, "Late Minoan Warrior-graves from Ayios Ioannis and the New Hospital Site at Knossos." *BSA*, 47, 1952 pp. 256-260, pls. 50-52.

³⁸ G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1957". *BCH* 82, 1958, pp. 706 f., fig. 26.

Cypriote terracotta head found at Samos⁵⁰; further, outside Cyprus, on reliefs from the Near East⁵¹.

Of course our tassels, divided into three parts, although formed out of two meeting bands or straps, must not be regarded too literally: the decorative effect has out-weighted realism also in this sense. Cf the above mentioned nos. 33, 1505 etc.! There is, however, "method in it": when the double straps of no. 1389 (fig. 5) meet in the neck and finish with a tassel of six ends! But the tassel of no. 1741 (fig. 28) is not made out of the straps but is simply formed of the end of the back-bent top. Evidently three ends is the conventionalized form for a tassel at Ajia Irini, no matter how the tassel is composed, but on no. 2100 (fig. 29) there is only an "embryo" of a tassel finishing the top.

The helmet of no. 2102 (fig. 30 and SCE II pl. CCII) is a singular thing, being decorated with such tassels all around except in front, hanging down from the center of the skull. Its form is that of a felt cap, but it is probably of leather. That it is a helmet is very likely, since the man is armed with a good sword.

No. 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI and CCXV, 1) wears a helmet with soft, tasselled top and two "floors" of tassels from straps hanging down on the outturned insides of the cheek-pieces. The decoration of the insides of the cheek-pieces is in the case of no. 1389 (SCE II pl. CCXIX, 4) limited to a painted square pattern, but no. 1071 (fig. 31 and SCE II pl. CXCXV, 3, —6) is provided with a lot of tassels (of a simpler type) on the outturned cheek-pieces and a long row on the back-bent top. The placing of tassels on the insides of the cheek-pieces shows that the helmet was probably not used with the cheek-pieces down — their decorative effect would then have gone forlorn. A similar

row but only with three "floors" is seen in the middle of the neck of no. 2071 (fig. 32 and SCE II pl. CCXV, 2), where the rest of the helmet is undecorated, so these neck tassels actually, but probably falsely, recall a crest.

Until now we have avoided discussing the surface of the helmets, which is normally plain but sometimes decorated in relief, e. g. with circled, stamped impressions, like the helmets of nos. 906+928+931 (SCE II pl. CCXV, 3—4), 1016+2505 (Fig. 33 and SCE II pl. CCXVI)⁵², 2435 or 2439 (SCE II pl. CCXXII, 4 resp. 1)⁵³.

Another type of relief decoration is shown on no. 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6) which is decorated with "contiguous notchings" and the same can be said of nos. —11(?) (Fig. 34), 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26), "1406" (Fig. 35)⁵⁴, 1417 (Fig. 36 and SCE II pls. CCXXXII, 8), and 1421 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 41). The heads of the five last mentioned are moulded in very similar moulds, if not exactly the same one⁵⁵. Of nos. 1276 and 1421 only the four—five front rows of notchings are visible. They are also of a comparatively smaller size than those of nos. —11 (?), "1406", and 1417, which are preserved with seven rows up to the back-bent tops.

This kind of decoration, which cannot possibly mean hair curls — for what would then become of the bent top? a hair tress? — vividly

⁵² There is a mistake in the catalogue of the SCE II, which can be corrected by an exchange between nos. 906+928+931 and 1016+2505. No. 906 etc. is badly damaged on top, but on no. 1016+2505 there is a round hole, below which there are signs of having been a tassel with three ends continuing the cork-screw-like top of the helmet. Thus the round hole is not likely to have been "for insertion of spike of another material" but rather a venthole like the many ones on back of the bigger statues.

⁵³ Cf the head found at Samos, above note 50!

⁵⁴ The number of the small idol here called —11 (?) is not legible as regards the first two figures; the catalogue of the SCE II is mistaken in the description of no. 1406, which is a small idol (19.5 cm), very similar to no. 1417, holding an animal and wearing a helmet of the same type with scale-shaped incisions.

⁵⁵ Cf E. Gjerstad, *BMNE* 3, 1963, p. 37!

⁵⁰ D. Ohly, "Frühe Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion auf Samos. I." *MDAI (A)* 65, 1940, pl. 39 no. 419.

⁵¹ H. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, fig. 886 (Zinjirli); H. Frankfort, *op. cit.* pl. 162 (Zinjirli); cf also H. Bonnet, *op. cit.* pp. 208 f., fig. 103!



Fig. 34. No. — — 11(?). Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.



Fig. 35. No. "1406". Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.



Fig. 36. No. 1417. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

recalls the Mycenaean boar's tusk helmets⁵⁶, which according to H. L. Lorimer did not survive the Late Helladic III: "it did not even last till its end"⁵⁷. A fairly great number of tusks or representations of tusks helmets are known⁵⁸ and the opinion of Miss Lorimer seems to hold true in Greece. But remote Cyprus may have preserved the memory of the boar's tusks in form of helmets decorated with contiguous notchings, although the material they are intended to represent cannot be guessed. They may be metal or bone reinforcements to a leather backing, or they may be purely decorative. But the possibility of an inheritance from Mycenaean times ought not to be overlooked.

However, there are also other comparisons to be made: a terracotta "head of a warrior of advanced Assyrian style" in the British Museum wears a helmet with its top bent back and the helmet is painted with "close spirals, apparently to indicate patterns cut in leather"⁵⁹. Some of the helmeted limestone heads from Cyprus have, according to L. P. di Cesnola a "surface like knitted work"⁶⁰. The combination of this surface with big knobs on top strongly points towards woollen caps with big woollen tassels, but could ancient warriors be credited with wearing such a head-dress on occasions, when their "portraits" were made? Even if woollen caps were not at that time regarded as so commonplace as nowadays, they can hardly have been more protective than now.

In his "Handbook of the Cesnola Collection" J. Myres describes Cypriote Archaic limestone heads wearing a "cap of flexible leather reinforced by an external frame of flat metalwork,

and running up to a peak, sometimes flexible, sometimes replaced by an ornamental knob. The leather panels were sometimes quilted or embroidered, or perhaps even replaced by plaited strapwork like the helmet of Meriones in Homer (*Iliad* X, 263). The metal rim fits closely round the temples, only occasionally exposing a row of small curls over the forehead. On either sides are ear-flaps or cheek-pieces of the same construction, designed to be tied under the chin, but generally raised and secured by their chin-straps on top of the helmet, either in front of the peak or behind it"⁶¹.

But the helmet of Meriones is clearly described by Homer as a boar's tusk helmet. There may be more reason to refer to the description of Herodotus of the Assyrian helmets: "Ἀσσύριοι δὲ στρατευόμενοι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον χάλκεα τε κράνεα καὶ πεπλεγμένα τρόπον τινὰ βάρβαρον οὐκ εἰσπήγγητον . . ." "The Assyrians of the army wore on their heads helmets of twisted bronze made in an outlandish fashion not easy to describe." Even with a certain objection to the translation of Herodotus' words, it is quite apparent that the helmets were "not easy to describe"⁶².

The notched helmets of our no. 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6) and the smaller, moulded idols are, however, not equivalent to the above described. There must be a reason, even if forgotten, for the pattern of notchings in contiguous rows. That the men are not wearing plain metal or leather helmets like most of the figures is obvious. No. 2374 belongs to per. 4, when the Egyptian influence was not yet as important in Cyprus as later, but the ankh-sign he is holding

⁵⁶ *Homer*, II. X, 261–265.

⁵⁷ *Homer* and the Monuments p. 213.

⁵⁸ H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pp. 212 ff.; A. Xenakikakellariou, "La représentation du casque en dents de sanglier." *BCH* 77, 1953, pp. 46–58, figs. 1–6; St. Alexiou, "The Boar's tusk Helmet". *Antiquity* 28, 1954, pp. 211–213.

⁵⁹ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, British Museum. London 1903, p. 40, A 232, fig. 8.

⁶⁰ *Cesnola*, Atlas I pl. LVIII no. 401.

⁶¹ J. Myres, *op. cit.* p. 196.

⁶² *Herodotus*, Hist. VII, 63. English translation by A. D. Godley, London 1950. Since it is difficult to find an intelligible translation for πεπλεγμένα, it is tempting to presume a mistake of spelling: the word πεπληγμένα (of πλήσσω instead of πλέκω), "struck", or "hammered", "wrought" gives a rather wide space for the interpretation of a phenomenon that Herodotus found difficult to describe.

is of course an Egyptian inheritance. The sculptor apparently was influenced by various cultures.

Only two Bronze age helmets of Cyprus are known, apart from those represented in ivory carvings from the Enkomi draught box and mirror handles and single vase pictures⁶³. Among our statuettes we have not found any exact equivalents to them. But we have found various components of various helmets to compare with similar phenomena of Assyrian (straight tops), Syro-Phoenician (knobbed tops), Hittite (crests and bent tops), and even Greek (cheek-pieces) origins. In their introduction J. H. Young and S. H. Young announce that "there is no such thing as a typical 'Cypriote' figurine"⁶⁴. This seems to hold good for Cypriote helmets too. Even a typical Ajia Irini helmet did not exist!

⁶³ A. S. Murray — H. B. Walters — A. H. Smith, *Excavations in Cyprus*. London 1900, pls. I—II. Cf also a Levanto-Helladic vase picture, E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*. Stockholm 1940, fig. 20:3.

⁶⁴ J. H. Young, — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* p. 1.

SHIELDS.

With very few exceptions, wherever Cypriote shields are mentioned, they are described as round and single-gripped, and often they are mentioned as a link between Near Eastern round shields and Greek hoplite shields. After G. Lippold's "Griechische Schilde"¹, apart from single specimens in excavation reports e. g. from Olympia, Greek shields are of course treated by H. L. Lorimer² and by A. Snodgrass³. "Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients" by H. Bonnet has a chapter on shields⁴, and what has happened after regarding shields in the Near East has to be picked up

¹ Münchener archäologische Studien dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet. München 1909, pp. 399—504.

² *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 132—196.

³ *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, pp. 37—68.

⁴ Pp. 181—201.

out of various excavation reports. In the SCE IV:2 there is a survey over the relations between Cypriote and Near Eastern shields with references to the literature in question⁵.

Thus, in the Near East round shields, flat or bossed, are known from various periods and contexts from the end of the 2nd millenium B. C. and later. Cf e. g. the Medinet Habu relief of the time of Ramses III with shields of the enemies⁶; a relief from Tell Halaf of the 10th cent.⁷; the reliefs from the bronze doors of Balawat, 9th cent.⁸; Carchemish of the 9th cent.⁹; Nimrud and Chorsabad of the 8th cent.¹⁰. Real metal round shields have been found at the Urartian Karmir Blur¹¹ and there have also been found shield bosses for wicker shields¹². Apparently other materials such as leather and wood were used, not only before metal was used for the shield surface, but also at the same time as metal shields. Metal alone would have been not only too expensive but also too heavy for normal use, at least for the bigger shields.

But the oldest remains so far known of a shield from Cyprus itself are not from a round shield after all. They were found at Kaloriziki (Kourion)¹³ and later described and reconstructed by H. W. Catling¹⁴ into a form showing resemblance with Aegean types, such as those

⁵ SCE IV:2, pp. 376 ff.

⁶ Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 340 f.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 360.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 399.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 368.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 410 f., 418 ff. and others.

¹¹ B. B. Piotrovski, "Teichebaini, centre ourartien du VII^e siècle avant notre ère..." 8^e Congrès international d'archéologie classique (Paris 1963). *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*. Paris 1965, p. 412, pl. 96, 3.

¹² R. D. Barnett, "Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949—1953)." *Iraq* 21, 1959, p. 8, pl. IIa.

¹³ G. H. McFadden, "A Late Cypriote III Tomb from Kourion." *AJA* 58, 1954, p. 140, nos. 30—35. figs. 33—34.

¹⁴ H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*, pp. 142 ff., pl. 18 d—e; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pl. 19.

¹⁵ H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. III, 1.

of the Mycenaean Warrior vase¹⁵ which fits well in with the end of the late Cypriote period.

From the Cypro-Geometric periods I and III are bronze shield bosses from Amathus and from Idalion of Cypro-Archaic II, all from the Swedish excavations¹⁶. A reconstructed shield from Idalion of the so-called Herzsprung or lambda type is probably of the 8th cent. according to Snodgrass¹⁷ and of the next century a decorated bronze shield-facing from Amathus¹⁸. In a Cypro-Geometric I-II tomb at Palaepaphos were found fragments from the central part of a shield¹⁹. Finally there have recently been finds of a shield and shield fragments in the "royal tombs" of Salamis²⁰.

An oval, slightly conical shield is held by the left hand of the "Ingot god" of Enkomi of the 12th cent.²¹.

All the shields carried by our terracotta figurines are round, but the types vary: one is convex (no. 1257, SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 7) without spike, but most of them are slightly convex or flat with a boss and/or spike in the middle. The spikes are of course only slightly indicated as the terracotta material does not allow long, pointed spikes like real bronze spikes. It is, thus, difficult to distinguish between which types are intended to be bossed or spiked, both of them being indicated by rather vaguely rendered little lumps or just the profile of the shield itself: e. g. nos. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and 1032 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 7). Most of the shields are also undecorated,

obviously because they appear with small idols. However, in the chariot groups nos. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6) and 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) there are small, decorated shields, and the little statue no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV: 2) has a rather flat, bossed shield with "circular and heart-shaped pellets" of a remarkable size, probably representing metal studs. The shield of chariot group no. 1170 has also a symmetrical decoration of pellets radiating from the bossed centre, but the left shield of no. 1046 (the one to the right is plain) has circular studs all over the bulging surface.

Painted radiating decoration is seen on our no. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and paint may have disappeared in other cases. A similar radiating pattern is visible e. g. on the shield of an archaic terracotta statuette from Kaloriziki²². In the same group are one with a square pattern²³ and others with patterns of more indefinite type, all flat without boss or spike. Cf also a terracotta warrior of the Cyprus Museum²⁴ and another one in the Louvre²⁵! Comparing with the metal shields one would rather expect a concentric pattern and actually such a one is found, but not among our figurines²⁶. Relief decoration with battle scenes decorate the shields of the triple Geryon of the 5th cent.²⁷.

The size of most shields in our group is about one third of the warrior. Thus the suggested shield of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) is a rather small one, if it is correct to presume a

¹⁶ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 40; with references to the SCE II and SCE IV:2, fig. 23.

¹⁷ SCE IV:2, p. 140, fig. 23:30; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 55, pl. 24.

¹⁸ SCE IV:2, p. 140, fig. 23:29; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pp. 56 f., pl. 25.

¹⁹ V. Karageorghis, "Une tombe de guerrier de Palaepaphos." *BCH* 87, 1963, p. 273, figs. 10 f.

²⁰ V. Karageorghis, "Recent Discoveries at Salamis Cyprus)." *AA* 1966, p. 244; Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I, Nicosia 1967, p. 36 no. 25, pl. LIV.

²¹ V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1963." *BCH* 88, 1964, pp. 353 f., pl. XVI.

²² Fig. 23, no. 53; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, pl. 61, no. 405.

²³ Fig. 23 no. 54; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pl. 61 no. 750.

²⁴ P. Dikaios, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*. 3rd ed. Nicosia 1961, pl. XXX, 7.

²⁵ H. Th. Bossert, *Alt syrien*. Tübingen 1951, fig. 148.

²⁶ Cesnola, *Atlas* II, pl. XXXI no. 263; J. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, p. 344 no. 2099.

²⁷ Cesnola, *Atlas* I, pl. LXXXIII, no. 544; J. Myres, *op. cit.* pp. 204 ff. no. 1292.



Fig. 37. No. 921. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

diameter of 8 cm against the height of 35.5 cm of the warrior²⁸. But the sizes apparently varied rather much. Cf the shields of chariot groups nos. 1170 and 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4 and 5), and a mere glance will be enough to find a great difference of proportions: the decorated one, needing more space for the pellets, is much larger. The decorated shield of no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) is comparatively seen a rather small one, but its dimensions are large enough for decoration anyway. Cf also the sizes of the bronze shields from Idalion and Salamis: the diameters are 83 resp. 85 cm!²⁹

The flat or nearly flat type is illustrated by e. g. nos. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and

²⁸ E. Gjerstad, *BMNE* 3, 1963, p. 20.

²⁹ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pls. 24 f.; SCE IV:2, fig. 23:30, V. Karageorghis, *AA* 1966, p. 244.

1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2). A shield with a "tapering" spike is held by no. 1032 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 7) and a similar one by the warrior of chariot group no. 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5) who is made in the same mould as no. 1032. The decorated shield of no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) is also provided with a tapering spike. Cf the Amathus shield³⁰!

Shield bosses of a type that should probably be compared to the bronze one of Amathus (SCE IV:2, fig. 23:27) are seen on a horse rider no. 921 (fig. 37) and the warriors of chariot groups nos. 1124 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 2), 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3) and 2000 (figs. 38–39 and SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5).

The small size and not very careful execution of most of the statues with shields in the chariot groups leave us often in doubt as to how the shields were held: with a single hand-grip or as the hoplite shield with a central *παῖς* and an *ἀντιλαβή* at the rim³¹? The shields of nos. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8) and 1032 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 7) are held with single hand-grips³², but the one of no. 1257 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 7) seems to be of the hoplite type. When not in use, they are carried in a strap over the shoulder, e. g. horse rider no. 921 (fig. 37), like the shield of another Cypriote terracotta horse rider (fig. 40), although the strap is not indicated. Similar is the case with no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), who would soon have dropped his shield, if there had not been a strap. This shield is the only one where possibly the armband is indicated on the inside of the shield (fig. 41). It is, however, impossible to know, whether we see the continuation of the sword or the armband.

³⁰ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pl. 25; SCE IV:2, fig. 23:29

³¹ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 61, pl. 26; cf also *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*. Berlin 1956, pls. 16, 20 and 21!

³² Cf J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pl. 14 no. 940!



figs. 38—39. No. 2000. Chariot group, side and back view. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.





Fig. 40. Terracotta horse rider.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

Comparisons with the way of holding swords of no. 1084 (fig. 8), where the sword is held much higher up under the arm, and with no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII), where the sword is not at all visible on back, do not help us to any conclusion. Cf also the sword of the bronze warrior of Salamis (figs. 9–10)! The sword of no. 1385 + 1530, if such a one it is, of course is held very narrowly to the inside of the shield, but, on the other hand, if it had not been, it would probably have broken.

The shields of chariot group no. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6) hang on the outside of the chariot box, and the one of the warrior in group no. 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3) is actually standing all by itself beside the man. As for the decorated shield of chariot group no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) it has been moved from the awkward position of the illustration and is now held with a single hand-grip in front of the front warrior by himself.

One warrior of chariot group no. 1782 (not illustrated) is carrying his shield on his back,



Fig. 41. No. 1385 + 1530.
Back view. Cyprus Museum,
Nicosia.

a practical way also for a horse rider like one of the Cyprus Museum (fig. 21). The Assyrian way of hanging the shield at the back of the chariot³³ could not very well be imitated in Cyprus, since the chariots are normally open in the rear (cf fig. 39!)

³³ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 298 and 386 f.

DAGGERS AND SWORDS.

Thanks to its copper mines Cyprus was famous for metallurgy already in the Early Bronze Age. The tanged swords and daggers may trace their origin to Cyprus. Later the much-discussed "Naue II" type of swords took over the dominance¹. Relations of Bronze Age swords in Central and Southern Europe and in the Eastern Mediterranean have been studied from various

¹ H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*. Oxford 1964, pp. 110–117.

points of view and different typologies with chronological and geographical classifications have been made e. g. by J. Naue², A. E. Renouchamps³, R. Maxwell-Hyslop⁴, H. W. Catling⁵ and N. K. Sandars⁶ apart from general surveys by H. Bonnet⁷, H. L. Lorimer⁸, and A. Snodgrass⁹ who also includes a typological catalogue of late Bronze and Iron age swords. Cypriote finds of Iron age swords and daggers are registered in the SCE IV:2¹⁰ and by A. Snodgrass¹¹. Further by O. Masson¹² and V. Karageorghis¹³.

It would seem, thus, as if comparisons with contemporary swords from Cyprus would make a classification of our swords easy. As usual, however, the condition of our terracotta representations is deplorable: in a few cases only there is a little chance of classifying the objects. Most of them are very small, broken, and above all, very vaguely rendered.



Fig. 42. No. 1916. Antikmuseet, Lund.

² Die vorrömischen Schwerter aus Kupfer, Bronze und Eisen. München 1903.

³ "Griechische Dolch- und Schwertformen. Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der europäischen Bronzezeit." *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. Nieuwe reeks VII*, 1926, pp. 10–76.

⁴ "Daggers and Swords in Western Asia. A study from prehistoric times to 600 B. C." *Iraq* 8, 1946, pp. 1–65, pls. I–VI.

⁵ "Bronze Cut-and-Thrust Swords in the Eastern Mediterranean." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* for 1956. New Series Vol. XXII, pp. 102–125.

⁶ Later Aegean Bronze Swords. *AJA* 67, 1963, pp. 17–153, pls. 21–28.

⁷ Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients. Leipzig 1926 pp. 42–96.

⁸ Homer and the Monuments, pp. 261–276.

⁹ Early Greek Armour and Weapons, pp. 93–113.

¹⁰ SCE II p. 14, pl. CXLIX (Amathus); pp. 537 and 41 pl. CLXXI (Idalion); SCE IV:2 pp. 130 f., fig. 19.

¹¹ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* pp. 94, 97, and 102 f., figs. f.

¹² "Kypriaka I. Recherches sur les antiquités de 'amassos." *BCH* 88, 1964, p. 228, figs. 16 f.

¹³ "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1964." *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 286, fig. 3; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*. Nicosia 1968, pp. 38 and 43, pls. XLV and CXXIX (from Salamis); "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1965." *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 22, fig. 59; "Nouvelles tombes de guerriers à Palaeophos." *BCH* 91, 1967, pp. 212 and 242, figs. 21, 24 and 25 (from Kouklia).

The weapons of nos. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7), 1084 (Fig. 8), 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26), 1385 + 1530 (Fig. 41 and SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2), 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4), 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII), and 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6) are big enough for observations, but out of these not many are very instructive.

In the catalogue of the SCE II they are all called "swords". When they are broken and the ends are missing, there are of course no means of calculating their measures, but some are intact and these are certainly very short swords, if not dirks or daggers. D. H. Gordon has defined these various types according to which system a long sword is 28 inches or more, a short sword 20–28 inches, a dirk 14–20 inch-

es, and a dagger less than 14 inches¹⁴. Proposing an average natural size of 170 cm to our soldiers, the intact sword of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) would proportionately estimated be about 50 cm, that is on the border between a dirk and a short sword. The weapon held by the left hand of no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4) would be even a little shorter and the one in his right hand is small even to be a dagger. The terracotta material must, as a matter of fact, be the reason for the strikingly small sizes of the weapons of our figurines. The sword of no. 1916 (Fig. 42) seems to have been fairly long but is of course broken. Cf the long sword of the bronze warrior of Salamis Tomb 79 (Figs. 9–10) and of the Kouklia vase no. 96¹⁵!

If, however, a dagger is worn at the belt or held in the hand of the warrior and a sword is worn in a strap over the shoulder, most weapons of our figurines are swords, for there are straps in most cases, visible or invisible, either over the breast (nos. 1524 etc. and 1276) or only the shoulder (nos. 1084 and 2102). Cf the little horse rider of the Cyprus Museum (Fig. 43), the Salamis bronze warrior (Figs. 9–10) and the terracotta busts of Kazaphani (Figs. 13–15)!

How the sword is hanging in its strap is never well indicated. For the sculptor it was evidently enough to show a strap, e. g. on no. 1524 etc. (SCE II pl. CC). On no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2) there is no strap visible, but perhaps there has once been one in paint, for it is a figurine with details of the helmet and shield unusually well rendered, but no strap is indicated, neither for the sword nor for the shield. On the other hand, a little warrior of chariot group no. 1779 has a strap, but the sword has fallen off.

Further, the swords worn in straps must be

¹⁴ "Swords, Rapiers and Horse-riders." *Antiquity* 27, 1955, p. 67.

¹⁵ "A propos de quelques représentations de chars sur des vases chypriotes de l'âge du fer." *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 105, fig. 3.



Fig. 43. Terracotta horse rider. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

supposed to be inside their scabbards. The weapons have no edges whatsoever. The decorative incised lines of the sheath of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) may remind of similar lines on the sword itself, but the weapon is unbroken and its very blunt point proves the presence of a scabbard.

Only in one case a warrior is drawing his sword: that is the small idol no. 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8), but it is too small to show any interesting details. No. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3–4) is holding two weapons, one in each hand. The presence of a pommel on the sword under the left arm excludes the eventuality that there might be only a scabbard to the left and the sword itself in the right hand. The weapon in the right hand is so short that it must be called a dagger or even a knife. Both weapons are somewhat bent, protected by clinging to the body.

No. 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV) is described in the SCE II as "probably having held a sacrificial knife". It is strange that the left arm is raised in a way as if to thrust a weapon. Since the right arm is lost, there is the

explanation as to why that was not used instead.

The sword of no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) which is worn in a strap under the left arm and which seems to pierce through his cuirass, does not come forth to show on the back, although the strap is indicated there and the back side of the helmet is provided with a lot of tassels. However, there is no great wonder: backs are usually neglected and one must not believe that the sword should be short enough to finish in the arm-hole. Similarly does the sword of no. 1070 etc. finish "in the middle of the body". In the chapter on the shields is discussed, whether the sword of no. 1385 + 1530 (Fig. 41) is seen continuing backwards on the inside of the shield or whether there is a shield armband. If it is the sword, it is unusually long but might be so, because of the protection of the shield.

To make a classification of the swords it would have been necessary to see the blades, but even the blade of no. 991, the only one in the act of being drawn, is invisible. The sword of no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26) with its incised lines may be understood to show the "blood channels" of the blade¹⁶, but it is the only one with any ambition of the kind. Very little is seen of the hilts, because the warriors are hiding them in their hand-grips. The pommels, finally, are in most cases just formless little clumps (e. g. no. 2344 + 2324, SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6).

The hilt of no. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2) is not covered by the hand of the warrior. It is rather short, the shoulders of the blade, or rather the scabbard, are rather square, and the pommel is crescent-shaped. Similar is the pommel of the left hand weapon of no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3-4), while the dagger in the right hand of the same statue has got a round, conical knob. No. 2102 (SCE II pl.

CCII) is decorated with two horizontal, incised lines around the hilt¹⁷.

For a comparative study of the pommels there is not much material available, since the pommel was very often made of another material than the sword itself, such as wood or ivory, and it has very often perished¹⁸. Crescent-shaped pommels are normally presumed to belong to the type of swords called "Naue II", but they are actually best known from representations in relief or paintings, e. g. from Bogazköy¹⁹, Zinjirli²⁰, Khorsabad²¹, Greek Geometric vases²², the relief pithos from Mykonos²³ and from the Siphnian treasury of Delphi²⁴.

The pommel is preserved, however, on a dagger from Marion in Cyprus²⁵ to which may be compared the dagger of the right hand of no. 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3-4). The pommel of sword no. 95 of Salamis Tomb 3²⁶ had decayed before the digging, but it had left a good enough impression in the soil for a restoration with a ball-shaped pommel, to which some of our terracotta representations may be equivalent: e. g. that of no. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6), no. 1084 (Fig. 8) or no. 1385 + 1539 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2). Cf also the daggers with preserved crescent-shaped pommels from northern Iran²⁷!

¹⁷ Cf *op. cit.* in note 4 above, pl. V. type 44!

¹⁸ Cf *A. Snodgrass, op. cit.* figs. 5-6!

¹⁹ *H. Th. Bossert, Altanatolien*, figs. 476 f.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* figs. 927 f.

²¹ *Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 422 f., 426.

²² *A. Snodgrass, op. cit.* pls. 1-3.

²³ *G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1961."* *BCH* 86, 1962, pp. 854 ff., fig. 16, pl. XXIX; *M. Ervin, "A Relief Pithos from Mykonos."* *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτικόν* 18 A, 1963, pp. 37-75.

²⁴ *R. Lullies — M. Hirmer, Griechische Plastik. München 1956*, pl. 49.

²⁵ *SCE II pl. CXLIX, 5, Marion 43:29, SCE IV:2, fig. 19:6.*

²⁶ *V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles... en 1964."* *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 286, fig. 83; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, p. 38, no. 95, pls. XLV and CXXIX.

²⁷ *A. Parrot, "Acquisitions et inédits du Musée du Louvre. 14. Armes iraniennes."* *Syria* XL, 1963, pp. 242-246, pls. XVII f.

¹⁶ Cf *A. Snodgrass, op. cit.* fig. 5, g-j!

The pommels of nos. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) and 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7) are a little more laboriously worked. For a long sword the pommel ought to be heavy in order to balance the weight of the blade. The length of these two swords cannot be calculated, but the pommels seem big. One material used as well for its weight as for its decorative qualities was alabaster²⁸. Ivory was another possible material, but here it might as well be wood, possibly covered with metal plate. Whatever material is supposed to be represented on the weapons of our statues, they are rare or even unique examples of intact representations in round sculpture. Snodgrass refers several examples from vase pictures of Archaic times²⁹, but contemporary sculpture of the Eastern Mediterranean of this size does not show any weapons.

²⁸ H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* p. 276; G. Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*. München 1930/33, pp. 108 f., 139, fig. 57, pls. LXXVI and LXXXIII.

²⁹ A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 111, notes 44–47.

SPEARS.

The chapter on spears is soon finished because of the nearly total lack of such weapons among our figurines. Some of them have probably once been holding spears, perhaps made of wood or metal or even terracotta, but nothing remains of them: nos. 1189 (Figs. 11–12), 1490 (SCE II pls. CCI, 1 and CCIII, 1) and perhaps nos. 1562 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 4) and 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7–8).

However, in chariot group no. 2000, after the picture of SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5 was taken, the warrior to the right has been restored with a spear or javelin (Figs. 38–39), so the chapter head is justified to a certain extent. The execution and state of the spear do not allow of any conclusions about its type. Not only is it broken now, but it has never been made with any care and interest for details. Cf

some little “spears” of Kaloriziki (Figs. 22–23)¹.

The “Ingot god” of Enkomi of the 12th Cent. B. C. is holding a much better spear in his hand². The Swedish Cyprus Expedition made several finds of spear-heads with examples of the Cypriote “sigynna” type as well as of leaf-shaped, more “international” types³. A later find is Salamis Tomb 3 no. 123, where the impressions made of the wooden shaft have been measured⁴. The total length of the spear was 2.18 m. The length of the spear-head alone was 59.5 cm. This illustrates the sculptor’s dilemma: he had all reasons for either using another material than terracotta or arming the warrior with another weapon.

¹ Figs. 22–23 nos. 51–54; J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, pl. 61, nos. 404, 405, 749, and 750.

² V. Karageorghis, “Chronique des fouilles... en 1963”. *BCH* 88, 1964, pp. 353 f., pl. XVI.

³ SCE IV:2 pp. 130 f., fig. 19 (iron) and pp. 138 f., fig. 23 (bronze). For Greek spears cf H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 254–261 and A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, pp. 115–139. For the Near East cf Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, illustrations *passim*, and H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orient*, pp. 96–108.

⁴ V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, pp. 39, 43 and 46, pls. XXXVIII, 6 and XLIII; “Chronique des fouilles... en 1964”. *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 286 f., fig. 82.

BOWS AND QUIVERS.

The use of bow and arrows in Greece is of course handled by H. L. Lorimer¹ and A. Snodgrass², but the so far last word has been said by G. Rausing in 1967³ who goes back in

¹ H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 276–305.

² A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, pp. 141–156.

³ G. Rausing, *The Bow. Some Notes on its Origin and Development*. Bonn/Lund 1967.

is survey to older authorities for Near Eastern and Greek material, such as E. Bulanda⁴ and A. Schaumberg⁵, to whom references are also given by Lorimer and Snodgrass. For the Near East there is, as usually, an important chapter by H. Bonnet⁶, followed by a chapter on quivers⁷.

For Cypriote archery sources are scarce and the obvious lack of preserved bows limits the direct knowledge of the use of arrows. One is referred to representations in art.

Among the bigger statues of Ajia Irini there is no archer. There is one single small idol with a preserved bow and quiver, no. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3), one bow in a chariot group, no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39 and SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5), and at least five presumed bows must have gone forlorn, on the evidence of preserved quivers or the position of the archers.

Other Cypriote archers are one of a terracotta group drawing his bow with the quiver hanging on his back⁸ and a vase of c. 600 B.C.⁹ showing a chariot scene with an archer hooting from the chariot, a custom which seems to have been common in Cyprus. The bow of the vase scene is of an angular type¹⁰, while the bow of the terracotta group may be the same, but it is so crudely sculptured that no definite statement can be given. The bow of our chariot group no. 2000 is, however, clearly a double concave bow according to the classification system of Rausing¹¹. Curved im-

pressions from such a bow were found in Tomb 3 of Salamis¹². Cf also the later sculptures from Golgoi of a Herakles with a bow and arrows¹³ and a kneeling archer with a preserved quiver¹⁴!

Of our six preserved quivers there is not much to say; they may have been made of any material, but the archers who had to carry them themselves would probably have preferred a light material like leather. About 20 bronze quivers were found at Karmir Blur¹⁵. In Cyprus no finds are registered, but arrows in bundles with traces of leather were found in tombs at Salamis¹⁶.

The position of the quivers on our chariots is either on the sides of the chariot box, outside (nos. 1046, SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6 and 2000, Figs. 38–39 and SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 5), or in front outside the chariot box (no. 1170, SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4). This way of hanging the quivers, often two in a crossed position, is common in older Assyrian chariotry¹⁷, but in Assyria of the 8th cent. the custom changed, so that the quivers were put in front¹⁸.

For Iron and bronze arrows of Cyprus of the Geometric and Archaic periods references are given in the SCE IV:2¹⁹. The arrow-heads seen in our quivers are unfortunately too crude and tiny to give any evidence of types.

¹² V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*. Nicosia 1967 p. 52, pl. XXXVII, 3.

¹³ L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyperm. Seine alten Städte, Gräber und Tempel*. Jena 1879, pl. XXIII.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* pl. XXXIII; J. Myres, *op. cit.* pp. 246 f. no. 1409.

¹⁵ B. B. Piotrovski, "Teichebaini, centre ourartien du VII^e siècle..." 8^e congrès international d'archéologie classique (Paris 1963). *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques*. Paris 1965, p. 412, pl. 96, 1.

¹⁶ V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des fouilles... en 1964." *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 286, fig. 82; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, pp. 45 f. fig. 6: In the SCE II p. 14 no. 58 (Amathus Tomb 2) "About fifty arrow-heads of iron rusted together to a large bundle" are mentioned but nothing is reported about a quiver.

¹⁷ Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 298 f. and 386 ff.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* pp. 299 and 452.

¹⁹ SCE IV:2 pp. 132 f. and 138 ff., figs. 20 and 23.

⁴ E. Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums*. Wien 1913.

⁵ A. Schaumberg, *Bogen und Bogenschützen bei den Griechen*. Erlangen 1911.

⁶ H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, pp. 118–173.

⁷ *Op. cit.* pp. 173–181.

⁸ J. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 344 f. no. 2102; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXII,

⁹ H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXV, 2; V. Karageorghis, "A propos de quelques représentations de chars sur des vases chypriotes de l'âge du fer". *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 104 f., fig. 2.

¹⁰ G. Rausing, *op. cit.* fig. 5.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* fig. 5.

CHARIOT GROUPS.

In 1907 F. Studniczka wrote an article called "Der Rennwagen im syrischphönikischen Gebiet"¹, where Cypriote chariots were discussed in relation to those of the neighbours, although the amount of known (terracotta) representations was fairly small at that time. This article was part of a kind of team-work project, where three pupils of his also took up studies on chariotry in antiquity².

After that J. Wiesner studied chariotry in "Fahren und Reiten im Alteuropa und im alten Orient"³ and F. Schachermeyer handled the warfare aspect in "Streitwagen und Streitwagenbild im alten Orient und bei den mykenischen Griechen"⁴. In "The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands" by Y. Yadin not only strategy and tactics were discussed, but among other things war chariots were richly illustrated⁵. In 1966 appeared W. Nagel's "Der mesopotamische Streitwagen und seine Entwicklung im Ostmediterranen Bereich."⁶

Finds of Cypriote terracotta groups are numerous in publications from the time of the Cesnolas on⁷, especially a large number from

Kourion⁸. For the study of chariot groups we seem, thus, to be well equipped, especially as recent finds have been made during the last years at Salamis in Cyprus, giving rich information about both horses and chariots⁹.

Vase pictures of the Levanto-Helladic style with chariot scenes from the Mycenaean period of Cyprus are numerous¹⁰. The chariots are of the "dual-bodied" type with four-spoked wheels and used for hunting¹¹. In the next pictorial style, the Free field style of the Cypro-Achaic period equivalent to the period of our terracotta groups, there are also some representations of chariots, some of which used for hunting and others as war chariots¹². Here we find an influence from the East, but it is also true that war chariots were used in Cyprus itself to an extent that had no equivalent e. g. in Greece of that time¹³.

That our chariot groups represent war chariots is proved by the presence of armed soldiers

⁸ J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus*, pls. 18–29, 34, 36, 50 f. 60, 63 and 66.

⁹ P. Dikaïos, "A 'Royal' tomb at Salamis, Cyprus," *AA* 1963, pp. 148–167, figs. 17, 19 ff., 26–31; V. Karageorghis, "Recent discoveries at Salamis (Cyprus)," *AA* 1966, pp. 223–242, figs. 18–21, 23 ff., 30, 42, 44, 46 ff.; "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1964," *BCH* 89, 1965, pp. 268–287, figs. 68 ff., 72–75, 80 ff.; "Chronique ... en 1965," *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 322, 366, figs. 58, 12; "Chronique ... en 1966," *BCH* 91, 1967, pp. 338–343, figs. 139–147; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis, I*, pp. 21–24, 46–53, 87 f., pls. IV–VIII, XIV–XVIII, XXVII–XXXVIII, XLVI–XLIX, LXVII–LXXIV, CXIV–CXXIV, CXXVII f., CXXXIX–CXLIII. For earlier finds see *SCE* IV:2 pp. 146 ff. fig. 26.

¹⁰ E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*. Stockholm 1940, figs. 19 f., L. Aström, "A Note on a Mycenaean Chariot Crater in Bonn," *Opuscula Atheniensia* IV. Lund 1963, pp. 125–128, pl. I; V. Karageorghis, "Two Mycenaean Chariot Craters at Rochester, USA," *BCH* 93, 1969, pp. 162–172, figs. 1–9.

¹¹ H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, pp. 314 ff.

¹² V. Karageorghis, "A propos de quelques représentations de chars..." *BCH* 90, 1966, pp. 101–118, figs. 1–12.

¹³ *Herodotus*, *Hist.* V, 113; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* p. 323 n. 3; A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, p. 165.

¹ *JdI* XXII, 1907, pp. 147–196.

² O. Nuoffer, *Der Rennwagen im Altertum. I. Leipzig 1904*; E. v. Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland. I. Leipzig 1909*; *Nachod*, *Der Rennwagen bei den Italikern. Leipzig 1909*.

³ *Der Alte Orient*. Band 38:2–4. Leipzig 1939.

⁴ *Anthropos* XLVI, 1951, pp. 705–753.

⁵ London 1963, *passim*.

⁶ *Berliner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte*. 10. Berlin.

⁷ L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus. Seine alten Städte, Gräber und Tempel*. Jena 1879, pls. XXXVII, 4 and LXVII; A. P. di Cesnola, *Salamina*. London 1882, pp. 239–243, figs. 226–229; J. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*. New York 1914, p. 346, nos. 2110–15; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kyprische Bildwerke. MDAI (A)* 40, 1915, pp. 53–70, pl. IX; L. Heuzy, *Catalogue des figurines antiques de terre cuite*. Musée Nationale du Louvre. Paris 1923, pl. X, 2 and 6; H. Th. Bossert, *Altägypten*. Tübingen 1951, nos. 136 f., — Cf also bronze wheels from early excavations at Salamis: A. S. Murray — A. H. Smith — H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*. London 1900, pp. 15 f., fig. 25:1456 and 1460; C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia I*. Paris 1952, pl. LXV, 10.

in most groups where human figures are at all preserved: e. g. nos. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2, swords), 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4, shield and quivers), and 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3, swords and shield). E. Gjerstad discusses the types of our chariots as being of both Egyptian and Assyrian derivation, the last one being the heavier, square type¹⁴. The traditionally light type of chariot known from relief pictures of the New Kingdom may be called Egyptian as a *terminus technicus*, but one had better remember that our knowledge of contemporary Egyptian chariots is very limited¹⁵, while hunting and war chariots are abundant on Assyrian reliefs¹⁶. Actually our chariots, also those of the rounded, "light" type are all drawn by four horses, while the Egyptian chariots used to be drawn only by two horses.

Here it may also be pointed out that the chariot group no. 249 + 115 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 6; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10) has been restored with a driver with a head of a moulded type that is very close to the Cypro-Egyptian sculpture style¹⁷, while the chariot is of the most typically square "Assyrian" type. This is, thus, an exception from the rule that the Cypro-Egyptian style was confined to stone sculpture¹⁸.

Because of the rather bad condition of most of the chariots I do not want to go further in discussing various types. The terracotta material has necessitated some particular details, such as the supports that most of the chariot boxes are resting upon. However, the box of no. 1715 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 4) is resting directly on the earth and the wheels are just standing at the sides. No. 2388 + 2791 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig.

14) has no wheels at all! Most of our chariots are open in the rear and many of them have a kind of loop, e. g. nos. 1715 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 4) and 2000 (Fig. 39), the use of which is explained in group no. 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3), where a man is helping himself into the chariot by grasping a now missing loop. Cf also a recent find at Salamis, in Tomb 79¹⁹! The chariot has left impressions of having been divided into two parts²⁰, one to the left and one to the right, which is also normal for our groups with loops behind. This seems good for an equal number of men in the crew, but there are rather often three persons in the chariots. The length of the above mentioned chariot of Salamis Tomb 3 was 60 cm²¹. That does not give much space even for two persons, so the models for our chariots may have been a little bigger, since e. g. no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) does not give the crowded impression of our no. 1125 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 1) or a group from Tortosa²². On Assyrian reliefs of the time of Ashurbanipal there may even be as many as four persons in one chariot²³.

In our groups with only two persons, one figure is often lost, but in some cases the warrior beside the driver has had to protect himself with a shield, e. g. no. 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 9), which is elsewhere done by a third man in the crew if there is one. One man in group no. 1125 is holding an animal in his arms. That a *parabates* sometimes carries a votive gift is attested from Kourion²⁴, but the case is unique among our groups. Although there is a loop, this chariot

¹⁴ BMNE 3, 1963, p. 35.

¹⁵ O. Nuoffer, *op. cit.* pp. 14 ff., pl. 1:13a (one relief from the 26th Dyn.).

¹⁶ W. Nagel, *op. cit.* figs. 62–69; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pls. 84, 87 f., 110; O. Nuoffer, *op. cit.* pls. 5 ff.; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 382–455 *passim*.

¹⁷ SCE IV:2, pp. 103 f., pl. VI.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 357.

¹⁹ V. Karageorghis, "Chronique ... en 1966." *BCH* 91, 1967, p. 339.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

²¹ V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*, p. 50.

²² H. Th. Bossert, *Altsyrien*, no. 136.

²³ O. Nuoffer, *op. cit.* fig. 40; F. Studniczka, *Jdl* XXII, 1907, pp. 170 ff.; Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 452.

²⁴ J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* p. 217.

obviously cannot be divided as above, since the driver is standing in the middle. The two other men are turning one another their backs. The man with the animal is wearing a band on his head, while the driver and the third man, who is carrying a shield, are wearing helmets.

A normal crew in our groups is composed of three persons: one driver, one warrior and the third a shield-bearer, who is supposed to protect the others. Cf no. 1780 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 3) and no. 1170, where the shield has now been moved from the awkward positions as shown on SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4, so as to stand in front of the front man left. The driver is nearly always standing to the right

and unarmed, his only visible protection being a helmet, most often of the straight type. He may of course wear a cuirass, but such details are not shown on so small figures. The warrior at his side has a straight or soft helmet or even a "cap", rather like a plain band round the head — or is that a kind of helmet? It is not very likely that even his head should be protected by the shield.

Some warriors are armed with swords: cf groups nos. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2), 1715 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 4), 1779 (Fig. 44) and 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3). Others are archers. In group no. 1123 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 11) the position of the man and



Fig. 44. No. 1779. Chariot group. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

traces of a quiver on the chariot are taken as a proof of that, and on chariots nos. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6), 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) and 2000 (Figs. 38–39) there are complete quivers preserved, which must have implied archers in the crews. The quivers are on the front of chariot no. 1170 and on the sides of nos. 1046 and 2000.

In the New Kingdom of Egypt quivers are often seen at the sides of the chariots, either two cross-wise over each other or one with a case for the bow crossed over it²⁵. The cross-wise side position is common on Assyrian chariots of the 9th Cent. B. C., but later they are put in front of the chariot²⁶. Cf also a Cypro-Archaic vase scene with quivers in front and back²⁷! The King's chariot in the great tribute procession of Persepolis has quivers in front as well as on the sides, or at least decorative reminiscences of them²⁸. One chariot of Salamis Tomb 3 had quivers on the outer sides²⁹.

In one of the chariots with quivers, no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39), where a bow is actually also hanging at the side of it, the warrior is hurling a spear, using that kind of weapon as the only one among our warriors. As a matter of fact, the arming of the warriors either with bow and arrows or with swords does not show much regularity. In group no. 1779 (Fig. 44) the two warriors are armed with swords and in no. 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3) two warriors are using swords as well as shields, that is, they are hoplites normally equipped for hand-to-hand fighting.

This actualizes the much discussed question of how chariots were used in Homeric battles: merely for transport of hoplites to the battle,

rather than as war chariots in a more literal sense of the word³⁰? The only occasion where real fighting between chariots is mentioned, is in Nestor's advice to the troops³¹. But chariots are involved in many cases and the importance of the driver obvious, when he is killed instead of the warrior, since his task was to rescue the warrior in dangerous situations³². However, those who hurled the killing spears were not in their chariots themselves³³ and very often the warriors left the chariots to fight on foot, normally using spears³⁴.

Returning to our chariot groups, we find only one spear, that is in group no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39) and as a matter of fact the warrior seems to be hurling it from the chariot. We cannot possibly know, if the major part of our warriors are armed with swords just because spears were liable to break when made of terracotta or if actually the sword was more used. It must, however, be taken as proved by our groups that swords as well as spears were used and not only bows and arrows, and that accordingly fighting took place both between chariot crews (or charioteer and foot-soldier) and hand-to-hand on the earth, at the time of our terracottas in Cyprus.

The position of the chariot box is normally with the back over the wheel axle in contrast to the vase picture chariots of the Mycenaean period, where the box is placed centrally over the axle like on our no. 1125 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 1).³⁵ As for the wheels we probably

³⁰ J. Kromayer — G. Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* IV, 3, 2. München 1928 p. 26; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pp. 324–328; A. J. B. Wace — F. H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer*. London 1962, p. 521; A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.* p. 175.

³¹ *Homer, Iliad* IV, 297–309.

³² *Homer, Iliad* VIII, 119–129, 311–319; *Iliad* XIV, 737 ff.

³³ *Homer Iliad* XI, 320 ff.

³⁴ *Homer, Iliad* XI, 47–52; *Iliad* XVI, 426 f. and 462–486.

³⁵ E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* figs. 19 f; H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXV, 2.

²⁵ E. g. Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 240.

²⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 299, 386 f. and 452.

²⁷ H. L. Lorimer, *op. cit.* pl. XXV, 2; V. Karageorghis, *BCH* 90, 1966, p. 104, fig. 2.

²⁸ E. E. Herzfeldt, *Iran in the Ancient East*. Oxford 1941, pl. LXXVII.

²⁹ V. Karageorghis, "Chronique . . . en 1964." *BCH* 9, 1965, p. 286, fig. 82; Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I, p. 50.

ought to imagine them all as spoked, although only four of the chariots have really modelled spokes: nos. 249 + 115 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 6; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10, with 5 spokes), 1781 + 798 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 3, with 7 spokes), the fragmentary group no. 1993 (not illustrated, 8 spokes) and no. 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 9, with 11 spokes). Spokes are painted on the solid wheels of no. 1782 (not illustrated) and we may suspect that paint indicating spokes has disappeared from many if not all of the others. The impressions in the soil of one chariot wheel in Salamis Tomb 1 (ca 700–650 B. C.) according to P. Dikaïos shows that it has been solid³⁶, but later finds at Salamis (end of 7th century B. C.) has given evidence of spoked wheels from Tomb 3³⁷. Cf also other Cypriote terracotta chariots with solid wheels and painted, concentric decoration as a contrast to the group in Athens said to be from Salamis³⁸! One may carefully suggest a chronological development to modelled spokes in the later groups, although the dating of the other terracottas as well as ours is not very fixed: 18 out of 20 chariots groups belong to period 4 of Ajia Irini, one to per. 5, and one is uncertain within periods 4–6³⁹. Per. 4 covers approximately the years 650–560 B. C., so there are good chances for great differences of age among the groups. Stylistic evidence is not reliable in the case of these small idols. But on the whole the groups with spoked wheels seem to have more carefully rendered details — which might be explained by the different care and skill from the part of different sculptors.

Usually there was only one yoke to all the four horses, but it was fixed to two poles⁴⁰.

³⁶ *AA* 1963, p. 159.

³⁷ V. Karageorghis, *AA* 1966, fig. 46; Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I, p. 31, pl. XXXII, 5.

³⁸ F. Studniczka, *op. cit.* p. 166, figs. 13 f.; V. Karageorghis, Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis, I, fig. 8.

³⁹ SCE IV:2, table on Small human idols at p. 812.

⁴⁰ E. g. Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* p. 426; W. Nagel, *op. cit.* fig. 66.

However, there is an example of two smaller yokes, one for each pair of horses, no. 2000 (Figs. 38–39). If there have been modelled reins, they have normally fallen off, but remains are seen on e. g. group no. 249 + 115 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10). Yoking and harnessing of horses are discussed by W. Nagel⁴¹. Only one pole is used for four horses among the Assyrians. Enough has been found, however, of real Cypriote chariots at Salamis to confirm what can be seen on our terracottas, and it is interesting to compare their dimensions with the proportions of our chariots: notice e. g. tomb 1 of Salamis, where the impressions of the yoke for four horses was 2.28 m and the poles were 2.40 m⁴². This seems to be a reasonable length of poles even for the size of horses nowadays. The horses of our groups are variously proportioned: those of no. 1046 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 6) have very short bodies compared to those of no. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2).

As far as rendering of horses' gear is concerned there are no equivalents in terracotta to our best groups: e. g. nos. 249 + 115 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 6; BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10), no. 1170 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 4) or 1998 (SCE II pl. CCXXXV, 5). Reality only can compete with this and it is most interesting to compare with recent finds of Salamis tombs, where such finds as blinkers, front bands, standards and trappings of bronze, ivory and leather remains are found from the Cypro-Achaic period⁴³.

Front bands are marked out in most of the groups⁴⁴, but in nos. 249 + 115 and 1170 the horses' heads are decorated with something like little hats or crests, which may best be compared to what Sargon's horses are wearing on

⁴¹ *Op. cit.* figs. 66–75.

⁴² P. Dikaïos, *AA* 1963, pp. 159 and 162, fig. 2A.

⁴³ Cf above, note 9!

⁴⁴ SCE IV:2, fig. 26:32, 33; V. Karageorghis, *AA* 1966, figs. 21 and 24.

reliefs of the palace of Khorsabad⁴⁵. Here may also be remembered of the horses' breast decorations of the same reliefs⁴⁶, which give us the hint that the vertical incisions indicate tassels in group no. 249 + 115⁴⁷. Cf also the tasseled collar decoration from Khorsabad⁴⁸ with our no. 804 + 944 + 1338 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 15)! Some horses have not only breast plates but wrappings of cloth or leather covering the whole backs and sides of the bodies, e. g. no. 1170⁴⁹. It is on the whole striking how much more interest for such details is shown in the Ajia Irini groups than e. g. in the groups from Kouion⁵⁰.

⁴⁵ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 420 and 426 f.; Cf also a relief from Arslan Tash, J. A. H. Potratz, *Die Pferde-entzungen des Alten Orient*. *Analecta Orientalia* 41. Roma 1966, pl. XXI, 46.

⁴⁶ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 420 and 427.

⁴⁷ Cf also a terracotta group from Amrith, M. H. Neufalsch-Richter, *MDAI (A)* 40, 1915 p. 60, figs. 1-2, and another from Tjiona, *Archaeological Reports* 955 (Suppl. to the *JHS*, Vol. 76, 1956) pl. II, fig. 2d.

⁴⁸ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.* pp. 420 and 427.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* pp. 452 and 458; J. A. H. Potratz, *op. cit.* I. VIII, 14.

⁵⁰ J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *op. cit.* pls. 18-27.

SUMMING UP OF INFORMATIONS FROM THE FIGURINES.

As a source of information terracotta sculpture is not often regarded as very good. It is considered a secondary type, compared to stone sculpture, which is usually both better executed and preserved. The Ajia Irini terracotta statues are partly an exception, thanks to their size and general state. The terracotta material has there been used, not only for "pure idol plastic" but also real art sculpture, although the statues have all served the same, sacral purpose. Gjerstad makes a distinction between the sculptures with an artistic character and those without¹, not mentioning the quality of size in that connection. However, size seems practically to have

been the determining factor in many cases. Cf e. g. no. 1417 (SCE II pl. CCXXXII, 8; 21.8 cm) with its beautiful, moulded head, and no. 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7-8; 38.6 cm) with its expressive face, both classified as "idol plastic", with the big statue no. 1860 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1; 158.0 cm)! It must be admitted that Gjerstad reckons with transitional cases between the idol plastic and art sculpture². But usually "art sculpture" seems to be represented by statues of 60 cm height and bigger, "large idols" by such between 60 and 40 cm and those smaller than 40 cm are "small idols".

In spite of this it is true that the bigger statues are often of greater interest, both from the artistical point of view and for what they tell about their "models", i. e. the worshippers who have dedicated the statuettes as votive gifts³. Most of them appear as soldiers with attributes described above, but some of them are probably priests⁴ or at least persons performing religious ceremonies. The best example of these is said to be no. 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV), who is dressed in a long chiton and a mantle. Instead of a helmet he wears a band round his head and has probably held a sacrificial knife in his left (!) hand to perform a sacrifice. Actually, he is not only the best example — he is the only one of the kind. There are plenty of (or at least 23) statuettes with bands round their heads but they do not show any signs of making a sacrifice. Five statuettes with band round their heads are carrying votive animals or objects, whereas sixteen dressed in helmets are doing the same (cf e. g. nos. 1495, 573 and 1784 fig. 45!). Ten figurines with bands are armed with swords or other, probably not sacral weapons. In this connection we might remember Herodotus' description of the Cypriote army⁵,

² SCE IV:2 p. 127.

³ E. Sjöqvist in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30. Leipzig/Berlin 1933, p. 333.

⁴ E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* pp. 343 f.

⁵ *Herod. Hist.* VII, XC. Cf H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra*. Münster 1966, pp. 154 f.

¹ SCE II p. 777.



Fig. 45. Nos. 1495, 573 and 1784.
Cyprus museum, Nicosia.

where the princes wore "mitrai" and the warriors "kitharis", both of which would mean pieces of cloth twisted like that of our no. 2072 + 2075, such as can also be seen among the warriors in our chariot groups, e. g. no. 1166 (SCE II pl. CCXXXIV, 2), and among terracotta figurines from Kourion, where bands round the heads are very common⁶.

The very fact that nearly all the figurines represent male persons is rather extraordinary in terracotta, but this appears more often in Cyprus than in Greece⁷. This has of course led to the conclusion that a male god, a war god, was worshipped at the sanctuary⁸. Warriors are rather frequent in small bronze sculpture in Greece, but there is not much comparable material in terracotta.

In the chapter on armour and dress we

⁶ J. H. Young — S. H. Young, *Terracotta Figurines from Kourion*, pp. 200 f.

⁷ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*. London 1903, p. xxxii.

⁸ E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* pp. 340 ff.

discussed, whether the long "garments" of most of the statues were really representing garments or were a mere substitute for modelled legs, which the artist for some reason or other did not bother to sculpture. Inability or laziness may be the reason why most of the larger and all the small idols are sculptured with negligence for other parts of the body than head and arms. But what about the big statues? The tallest one (187 cm) no. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC) is according to the catalogue "dressed in a girdled chiton . . . overfold with side-flaps . . ." and according to our first chapter he is wearing a cuirass and (the reminiscence of) a *mitre* protecting the abdomen. Could it be that he is too tall to get sculptured legs like those of nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619 (SCE II pl. CXCI, 1; height 118.3 cm) and 1728 + 1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI 2-3; height 105.0 cm) to which statues he is very near akin? That is not very probable. Big statues get big, clumsy legs, but still legs, if wanted. Cf nos. 1763 + 1845 (SCE II pl. CXC VIII; height 155.5 cm) or 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII; height 177.7 cm)!

A suggestion that one of our sculptors modelled the legs and others preferred the long garments is proved to be wrong by the very similar nos. 2106 + 2103, 1 + 1618 + 1619 and 1728 + 1740, which must be sculptured by the same hand. Cf also nos. 1767 (modelled legs) and 1044 + 2495 (covering garment) on SCE II pl. CCV! The last example is one of those garments made intentionally half-way between short and long, not due to either negligence or inability. There are quite a few of this kind, e. g. no. 573 (Fig. 45), 1016 + 2505 (SCE II pl. CCXVII), and 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII). A variation is shown e. g. in no. 1196 + 2437 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3), 2069 + 2087 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 2-3), and 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV), where the dress "cut off" in front to show the feet. Finally there is one group with toes peeping forth beneath the dress, e. g. nos. 1052 + 2442 (SCE II pl.

CXCIX, 2), 1099 + 2735 (SCE II pl. CCXXIII, 1-5), and 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2).

For what purpose, on which occasions were these garments used? They are combined with various kinds of helmets: nos. 1389 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 1), 1196 + 2437 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1), 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCV, 2), and with urbane: nos. 1796 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 6), 1072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV). These statues are very "neutral", neither wearing weapons or votive gifts. Looking, on the other hand, upon the statues with legs modelled a bit above the knees, such ones provided with weapons seem to be rather frequent: nos. 1070 + 1072 + 1073 + 1075 (Figs. 6-7), 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2), and 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII). There are also statues with modelled legs, without offensive weapons but wearing helmet and cuirass: nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619 and 1728 + 1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI), 1767 (SCE II pl. CCV, 1), and 1189 (Figs. 11-12) who may have held a spear in his right hand. In the chariot groups there are armed men in "long chitons", but since they are all "small idols", where no modelled legs can be expected, they do not enter into this discussion.

Thus the "uniforms" of the warriors show rather varied traits. We do not even know which of the figurines are wearing "uniforms", but the terracotta material is not the reason for that, rather the sculptors, who did not care very much about how they equipped the warriors.

As mentioned in the chapters above on the various kinds of weapons, spears are nearly altogether lacking, except for one in chariot group no. 2000 (Figs. 38-39). This is evidently because of the material, which was not suitable for such tiny things. We do not know whether other spears have also existed, made of terracotta and now broken, or whether other materials like wood or metals were used, or even whether in some cases the position of the warrior would be enough for the on-looker to imagine

a spear, as with the bows of nos. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3) and chariot group no. 2000, where the strings are lacking but the curved bows are enough to indicate the weapons. Whether the strap over the shoulder of no. 893 belongs to the bow or the quiver, is not possible to see. The arrow-heads are seen in the quivers. Such as they are, they would not be of much use in a fight, but it is not very likely that metal arrows of the same size would have been much sharper. Regarding the quivers it is not possible to guess, if they are supposed to be of leather, wood, or metal.

A fair number of swords, or pieces of swords, are preserved. Since they are normally inside the scabbards the sculptor has not had any problem with getting sharp edges, for which the terracotta would not have been very good. On no. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2) it is interesting to see how the sword in its scabbard is attached to the side of the body, while the strap has no connection with it. Similarly no. 1276 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 26), although part of the strap has fallen off, but the sword would actually be hanging in the air, if it were not fixed to the body itself. This would have been impossible to do in stone sculpture. But cf. the bronze warrior of Salamis (Figs. 9-10), where the strap quite clearly carries the sword! Our no. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) is holding his sword tightly between the overarm and the body, although there is a strap but without functional connection with the sword. This is also normal for the little swords and straps of the chariot groups. No. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6) is also pressing the sword between arm and body, while others, nos. 571 and 991 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 9 and 8), 1070 etc. (Figs. 6-7), 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), 1739 + 2345 (Figs. 3-4), and 1916 (Fig. 42) hold their swords with a hand-grip. Cf. also the terracotta busts from Kazaphani (Figs. 13-15), where great pains are taken to show the scabbards and the straps, so that one

cannot be mistaken of the function, although the rendering is not even here quite realistic.

It is not much otherwise with shields. Most preserved shields are placed in such a way as to hide how it is held by the warrior, e. g. nos. 991 and 1257 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 8 and 7). The biggest shield, that of no. 1385 + 1530 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 2), is clung to the body in an inexplicable way, which would not have been possible in marble and hardly in metal.

The helmets of the smallest figurines are often made with straight tops and in one piece with the head, which is of course the easiest way in any material. Such helmets are also used for larger idols and statues like that of no. 1726 (SCE II pl. CXCII, 3). Others may actually be made in one piece with the head but are marked out with a border as if being modelled separately, e. g. nos. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1-2) or 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCIV). But not seldom the helmet is actually made separately, e. g. those of nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619 and 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXCII, 2 and 1). We must imagine some kind of helmet on nos. 1763 + 1845 (SCE II pl. CXCVIII) and 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5-6), where the naked skulls show signs of having been covered.

The upturned cheek-pieces are not always as literally upturned as on the helmets of nos. 1842 and 1860 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 5, 4 and 1), 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 4), or 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXV, 1), but modelled upon the helmet surface, e. g. nos. 1824 + 2139 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) and 2102 (SCE II pl. CXCVII). Various ways of modelling helmets can be studied on SCE II pl. CCXV (nos. 906 + 928 + 931, 1727, and 2071).

Variants of helmets with back-bent tops are well rendered in terracotta. They certainly represent leather helmets. The one of no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCIV) is very stiff, the top being bent only very little. The helmet of the small idol no. 1279 (SCE II pl. CCXXX, 10)

is already a little more bent, intentionally or not, but the major part of these helmets have tops like that of no. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXCII, 1), where the top can never have been intended to stand up but is hanging down back as a tail. Cf also nos. 1566 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 1-2), 1567 (SCE II pl. CXCVI, 1), and 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1-2 and 4)! On nos. 1010 + 1030 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 1-2) it is no more the whole top of the helmet that forms the "tail" but the front piece of it which looks like a sort of a handle on top of the head. Cf also no. 1824 + 2139 (Figs. 1-2 and SCE II pl. CCVII, 3) and no. 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 7-8) where the helmet itself is a small round thing, but the cheek-pieces and the tail-formed top are very big. Such helmets with back-bent tops are very rare in other materials than terracotta. On the other hand, forwards-curving and stilted crests are rare in this material (but cf the crests on figs. 21-23!), and among our figurines there is none.

A propos of leather, the cuirasses may be mentioned here. There were of course different kinds of skin and leather used for them, and the one used for helmets ought to have been a harder type. If one should judge from the apparent stiffness of the terracotta statues, the cuirass leather would have been as hard as sole leather, but then the whole dress would be made of such a stiff material, which cannot seriously be presumed. In the chapter above on armour and dress the material problem was mentioned and it must be maintained here that the terracotta material somewhat disguises the type of material it is supposed to represent. If the long garments are not mere substitutes for modelled legs, so that there was no material whatsoever in the sculptor's mind, a leather garment down to the feet will seem to have prevented movements in a very uncomfortable way and a linen

* Cf e. g. Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 418 ff.

one would have done nearly the same without even giving as much protection. The long, scaled garments of Assyrian archers⁹ always leave the feet free for walking, and we can certainly presume that our feet-hiding "robes" are exaggerations. Cf e. g. no. 1052 + 2442 (SCE II pl. CCXIX, 2)! But half-long garments must have been used. Some of the cuirasses have seams indicated in a very outspoken way: e. g. nos. 2106 + 2103 (SCE II pl. CXC), 1728 + 1740 (pl. CXCI, 2–3), or 1144 (SCE II pl. XCVI, 3–4). It seems natural to understand these as laced seams, which are normal for sewing in leather. Some of the supposed leather cuirasses lack indications of seams altogether, but there may once have been such ones in paint. Others have seams marked out by thinner, incised lines: nos. 1536 (SCE II pl. CC, 3, 5) and 1509 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 1–2), which give a similar idea of laced seams on the shoulders. Incised lines are not very much used, comparatively seen. Paint has probably been used to a rather great extent, to show such details as seams and plies of drapery, but there are incisions e. g. on nos. 1071 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3, 6), 1727 (SCE II pl. CCXI), and 1359 (Fig. 46). For a similar use of incisions and paint, see no. 1821 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 3, 5), where the shoulder seams are incised, while the long side seams on the lower part of the garment are painted.

What made the artist use the one or the other method, incising or painting? Incisions were made before the firing, but the application of the paint was made after¹⁰. Thus the artist will often have left such details until after the firing, although he must have had a general idea of the statue from the beginning. The painter may of course also have been another person than the sculptor. For hair and beard various kinds of incisions were often used: e. g. nos.

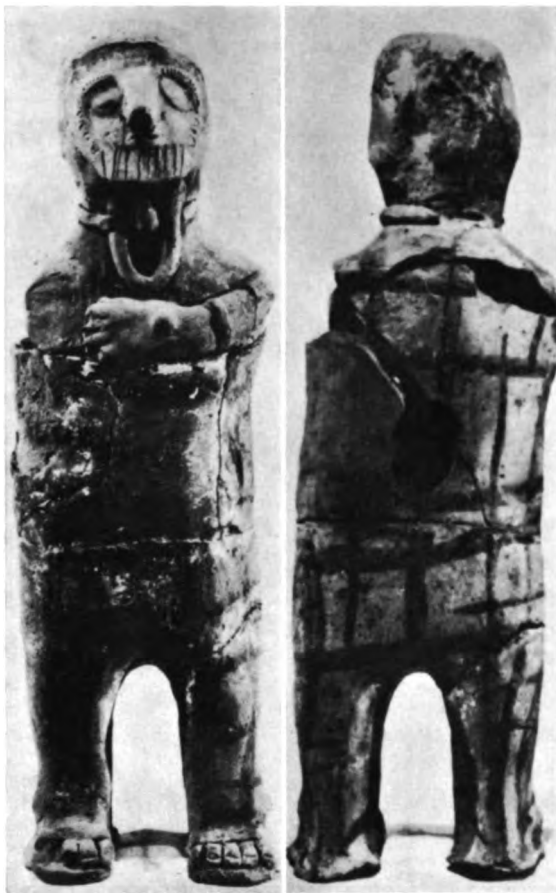
¹⁰ Cf R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. I. London 1954, pp. 5 and 7.



Fig. 46. No. 1359. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCIV), 1044 + 2495 (SCE II pl. CCVI, 6), 2102 (SCE II pl. CXCIV), 2072 + 2075 (SCE II pl. CCXIV) and 2374 (SCE II pl. CCVII, 6). On no. 2374 incisions are also used to indicate scales or tusks for the helmet (cf chapter on helmets!).

The colours must have illustrated much that we can only guess at now, because it has disappeared with time, much to our regret. The remaining colours are mostly red and black, sometimes with brown, blue, or violet varia-



Figs. 47–48. No. 2465. Front and back.
Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

tions. There is usually a buff or light brown slip on the often rather red terracotta. Especially in earlier periods colours could be applied as purely ornamental patterns without any functional sense, e. g. on animal figurines (cf no. 2049, SCE II pl. CCXXIV, 4)¹¹. It is probably still so with our human figurine no. 2465 (Figs. 47–48), whose dress is square-patterned.

Black colour sometimes remains on details like helmets (e. g. no. 1363, SCE II pl. CCIII, 3–4) or beards (e. g. no. 1728 + 1740, SCE II pl. CXCI, 2–3), or as a lower border on small and larger idols (nos. 92 and 874, SCE II pl.

¹¹ It was suggested by E. Sjöqvist, *op. cit.* p. 335, that this decoration should be a reminiscence of a cult cloth.

CCXXXII, 13 and 12). The borders of mantles indicated in relief are often coloured, e. g. nos. 1052 + 2442 (SCE II pl. CCXIX, 2) or 1141 (SCE II pl. CCXII, 6–7), where also the folds are indicated in paint as well as in relief. But on no. 1323 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 3) only colour indicated the mantle which is worn obliquely over the breast and one shoulder. Similarly the small idol no. 893 (SCE II pl. CCXXXI, 3). On many of the small idols the painted lines are probably mere decorations for the idols seen as idols, rather than illustrating a real chiton pattern (cf SCE II pls. CCXXXI–III!). But on the larger statues it is otherwise. There have probably often been coloured borders at the side seams: cf nos. 1821 (SCE II pl. CCXIII, 3), 1040 (not illustrated), and 1525 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 6). Nos. 1467, 1642 (not illustrated), and 1980 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 49) have converging lines on the breast like those of a statue in Stockholm without number (Fig. 49, neg. no. 2511). These lines illustrate folds of the garment rather than a woven pattern. Cf also the badly damaged no. 2467 + Suppl. no. 2802 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 35) with black borders and a red woven (?) pattern over the shoulders!

Unusually much colour has been preserved on no. 1727 (SCE II pls. CCXI and CCXV) causing some trouble to the interpreter. The “apron” on the lower part of the figure is probably the front of an outer, thicker garment, worn on top of the thinner one with folds indicated by incised lines at the bottom. That nothing of these garments is worked out on the back is rather normal. Backs are usually neglected, although there are exceptions like that of no. 1028 + 2077 (Fig. 5), where, however, the big vent-hole makes sure that the statue was only to be seen from the front side.

A mysterious, painted decoration is the one on the tunic of no. 1070 etc. (Fig. 6), which is in the catalogue understood as a bag hanging from the waist. This does not seem very likely

— it may rather be seen as a purely ornamental pattern.

The absence of greaves is total, in the round and in paint. As for foot-gear, most of the feet, when shown, are naked, but some of the warriors wear sandals: nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619, 1728 + 1740 (SCE II pl. CXCI), 1189 (Figs. 11–12) and 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2). They are all of the same type with thongs fastened between the first and the second toe.

Tassels and fringes are details that our artists have rather often shown in the round. Such are very rare in stone sculpture¹². Among our statuettes fringes are rather frequent on a certain kind of narrow mantle, thrown obliquely over one shoulder like an bandolier: e. g. nos. 909 (BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 51), 1505 a + b (Fig. 26 and SCE II CCXXXVIII, 5), 1562 and 1741 (SCE II pl. CCXXXVIII, 4 and 7–8). On no. 1016 + 2505 (SCE II pls. CCXVI f.) the fringes are diminutive, but on no. 1363 (SCE II pl. CCIII, 3–4) there are magnificent fringes, especially those at the lower border. No. 2344 + 2324 (SCE II pl. CXCIX, 5–6) has fringes round the waist, probably not belonging to a mantle but to the lower border of a short cuirass. Cf nos. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7), 1189 (Figs. 11–12) and the Kazaphani terracotta busts (Figs. 13–15)!

The fringes of no. 1028 + 2077 (SCE II pl. CCVIII) are puzzling. Why the border under the fringes? There was obviously no technical need for such an extra piece of cloth under the fringes of the mantles in other cases. But this dress is on the whole mysterious.

Both fringes and a big tassel decorate the skirt of no. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 (SCE II pl. CC, 1–2). Most tassels mentioned in the catalogue are less impressive and normally



Fig. 49. Without number, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm.

¹² Cf *J. Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, pp. 141 ff. no. 1004; *H. B. Walters, Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum. I:II. Cypriote and Etruscan*. London 1931, pp. 31 f. no. C 47, fig. 36; In terracotta cf *SCE III pl. CCII, 4* (from Arsos)!

placed on helmets. No. 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII) has two vertical rows of tassels placed like the fringes of no. 1524 etc. on the tunic. Rather similar are the tassels of no. 1189 (Fig. 12), while the slit up side of the tunic of no. 1070 etc. (Figs. 6–7) is likely to be connected with these but there are no tassels.

The tassels on the helmets are generally smaller. Those in the necks of e. g. nos. 1505 a (Fig. 26) and b are actually no tassels but knots tied so as to hold up the cheek-pieces. Other helmet tassels are merely decorative: nos. 1071 (SCE II pl. CXCIV, 3 and BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 20), 1727 (SCE II pls. CCXI and CCXV, 1), and 2102 (SCE II pl. CCII).

Much of the information given by the figurines is actually incomplete, so we have to fill out the empty space with the help of our imagination, either expected to do so from the beginning or because time and conditions have changed the statuettes. Still there are things apt for rendering in terracotta, which would have given a marble sculptor difficulties to work out in his material, above all the stamped or drawn incisions and small “pellets” like the decorations on shields, arrow-bundles in quivers, and much of the horses’ gear on the whole (e. g. no. 249 + 115, BMNE 3, 1963, fig. 10!)

It is not within the scope of this study to discuss stylistic and chronological relations of the sculpture as such. When he treated the subject in the SCE IV:2, Gjerstad much regretted that e. g. Cypriote sculpture found in Samos was not fully published then¹³. In 1962 the Cypriote terracottas of Samos were the subject of a dissertation in Munich by G. Schmidt, which has now appeared in extended form as *Samos Band VII*, published by the German Archaeological Institute¹⁴. Schmidt disagrees

with Gjerstad on some chronological points¹⁵. There are also others who prefer a higher chronology than the dates proposed in the SCE¹⁶. The very special “Cypriote character” of the Proto-Cypriote sculpture remains, however. The equipment of our figurines is also of a special type: e. g. there is nothing of the Greek interest in the naked human body, but also nothing of Oriental luxury in dressing. The round shields of varied sizes but with a (tapering) spike seem to be characteristic for Cypriote warriors, even if they were not the only ones using round shields. The use of leather or linen corslets (besides scaled ones) at a time when metal cuirasses began to flourish in Greece does not prove that Cyprus lagged behind. The Cypriotes may have had good reasons for using their materials, considering that their fighting tactics were different from those of the Greeks, as illustrated by the war chariot groups. Until more is known about the use of leather and linen corslets in surrounding countries, the interconnections cannot be established. Both in details and seen as a whole the equipment of the Ajia Irini figurines confirms the general impression of independence from foreign dominance of the Proto-Cypriote period.

¹³ J. Birmingham, who gives very early dates for the Ajia Irini terracotta sculpture, writes in “The Chronology of Some Early and Middle Iron Age Cypriot sites”. *AJA* 67, 1963, pp. 15–42, on p. 19: “The nonceramic dating evidence is virtually all from sculpture” (with reference to Ajia Irini). Cf Gjerstad in the SCE II pp. 818 f. on the evidence of scarabs, giving the year 663 B. C. as a *terminus post quem* for period 4 of Ajia Irini. More modified opinions, based upon ceramic evidence, about the chronology of the Cypriote Geometric and Archaic periods are expressed by V. Karageorghis — L. G. Kahil in “Témoignages eubéens à Chypre et chypriotes à Érétrie”. *Antike Kunst* 10, 1967, pp. 133 ff, and J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*. London 1968, pp. 318 ff., 383 f.

¹³ Pp. 327 and 332 f.

¹⁴ *Kyprische Terrakotten aus dem Heraion von Samos*. München 1962. Dr Schmidt very kindly lent me this typewritten dissertation; *Samos VII*. Gerhard Schmidt, *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Bonn 1968.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 93–98.

LIST OF MUSEUMS

The Ajia Irini terracottas mentioned in the article are now placed as follows:

Lund, Antikmuseet:

Nos. 1524 + 2333 + 2346 and 1916.

Malmö, Malmö Museum:

Nos. 936 and 1842.

Nicosia, Cyprus Museum:

Nos. 1 + 1618 + 1619, 573, 576, 577, 893, 904, 906 + 928 + 931, 921, 926 + 1059, 940, 973, 991, 1025, 1028 + 2077, 1032, 1052 + 2442, 1081, 1083, 1107, 1125, 1138, 1141, 1150, 1151, 1166, 1170, 1189, 1191, 1201, 1257, 1320, 1323, 1385 + 1530, 1393, 1417, 1454, 1467, 1470, 1490, 1495, 1505a, 1516, 1536, 1541, 1562, 1566, 1567, 1588, 1642, 1715, 1724, 1727, 1729 + 2345, 1741, 1763 + 1845, 1767, 1780, 1781 + 798, 1782, 1784, 1796, 1804, 1805, 1821, 1824 + 2139, 1933 + 2378 + 2314, 2000, 2069 + 2087, 2071, 2102, 2106 + 2103, 2169 + 1603 + 2475, 2332 + 2360, and 2465.

Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet:

Nos. 33, 249 + 115, 342,804 + 944 + 1338, 909, 930, 1010 + 1030, —11, 1016 + 2505, 1031, 1037, 1040, 1044 + 2495, 1046, 1049 + 1054 + 1325 + 2799, 1070 + 1072, + 1073 + 1075, 1071, 1076, 1084, 1123 + 789 + 790 + 1864 + 1971, 1124, 1137, 1144, 1196, 1276, 1354, 1359, 1363, 1369, 1405, 1406, 1416, 1421, 1427, 1439, 1451, 1465, 1489, 1505b, 1509, 1525, 1538, 1542, 1564, 1725, 1726 + 1843, 1728 + 1740, 1746, 1747, 1779, 1860, 1980, 1998, 2072 + 2075, 2079 + 2105, 2100, 2324 + 2344, 2374, 2388 + 2791, 2435, 2439, 2467 + 2802, 2497, 2795, 2797 and one without no.

Uppsala, Gustavianum:

Nos. 1099 + 2735 and 1389.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AA	= Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
AJA	= American Journal of Archaeology.
Annuario	= Annuario della (R.) Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle missioni Italiane in Oriente.
BCH	= Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BMNE	= Bulletin. The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities.
BSA	= The Annual of the British School at Athens.
Cesnola, Atlas	= L. Palma di Cesnola, A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Boston; New York. 1885—1903.
JdI	= Jahrbuch des (K.) Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Op. Athen.	= Opuscula Atheniensia.
SCE	= The Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

14: -

Price: 20 Swedish Crowns

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